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Debate about the shifting moods in Nato alliance



The kind of swing in attitudes of Germans towards the Soviet Union is making it increasingly difficult for America to maintain its share of costs and responsibilities in Nato, says Senator John Glenn.

The former astronaut told 150 delegates to the 26th annual Wehrkunde discussion forum in Munich that, in 1980, public opinion surveys showed 70 per cent of Germans thought the Soviet Union was the biggest single threat to their security.

Today, just eight years later, 80 per cent supported the removal of nuclear weapons from Europe.

Other surveys indicated that Germans believe far-reaching changes are taking place in the Soviet Union.

Glenn said that, in contrast, Americans simply hoped that the dynamic Soviet leader would continue to be successful in Moscow.

He said he could not imagine Nato without the support of the German people. What would happen if Mikhail Gorbachov announced that he was going to tear down the Berlin wall?

The senator from Ohio was not the only delegate to express uncertainty.

Canada's representative at Nato, Gordon Smith, openly told his German listeners: if the presence of Canadian troops is a burden for the Germans his government could easily fix that by calling the troops home.

He added that Canada had already made an offer to take on a greater share of the German low-level flying runs. But he insisted that Germans stop talking about "exporting" their low-level flying problems; otherwise, the Canadians might find it difficult to maintain their offer.

The Germans were certainly on the receiving end at the conference. Once again, there was unusual unanimity when it came to defending themselves again the accusations.

CSU Bundestag member Michaela Geiger, CSU party leader Theo Waigel, FDP minister of state in the Bonn Foreign Office, Helmut Schäfer and the director of the Stockholm Institute of Peace Research, Walther Stützle, all dismissed any doubts about German loyalty to the alliance.

The SPD matadors Egon Bahr and Karsten Voigt nodded approvingly. But the discussion did expose a certain feeling of uneasiness.

One of the main topics addressed by the Americans was burden-sharing. Senator Charles Rudman, for example, was irritated at the remark by Bonn Defence Minister Rupert Scholz that indignation would develop in Europe towards its alliance commitments and the American alliance partner if the USA continues to allow its domestic problems to have such an effect on Europe.

He reminded Scholz that Nato accounts for over half of the US military budget.

The USA is in the process of closing down about 100 military bases in its own country to save money. This means economic losses for some areas.

"And we expect you to bear the same kind of burden," said Rudman.

US Secretary of Defence-designate, John Tower, also reacted pretty gruffly after Stützle advised the Americans to simply drop the subject of burden-sharing.

Stützle had said that if Washington wished to remain a world power, the alliance with Western Europe was not only indispensable, but also the least expensive way for the USA to maintain its status.

Tower reminded peace researcher Stützle of the realities of political life in his country.

No politician could afford to follow Stützle's proposal if he wished to "survive."

A remark by Karsten Voigt triggered considerable doubts among the experts.

He argued that the Federal Republic of Germany must start thinking about changing the concept of forward defence once the invasion capability of the Warsaw Pact has disappeared thanks to military arrangements.

He claimed that the West German population would force the Bonn government to do this in five or six years time.

Britain's permanent representative at the Nato, Sir Michael Alexander, viewed this as a dangerous development.

Once the Germans start questioning forward defence it will hardly be possible to find support in his country for a stationing of troops on the border to the Warsaw Pact, in other words to defend the Federal Republic of Germany.

Finally, the divergence of opinion between the Federal Republic of Germany and its allies became clear with respect to the question of nuclear armament.

Tower was not the only guest to emphasise that the modernisation of weapon systems is a priority task for the alliance, albeit without making any direct reference to nuclear short-range missiles.

Britain's Defence Minister, George Younger, stressed that once a decision has been made in favour of nuclear weapons it doesn't make sense to let them become obsolete.

Even the Dutch Defence Minister Folkestein urged a modernisation, even though a mass peace movement in his country also rejected the deployment of medium-range missiles at the beginning of the 1980s.

Les Aspin, chairman of the Armed Forces Committee in the US House of Representatives, suggested a "deal": a reduction of atomic artillery in exchange for the deployment of the new short-range missile.

The leader of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party in the Bundestag, Alfred Dregger, however, reiterated what he already suggested after recommending a zero solution for atomic artillery last year.

Egon Bahr readily agreed to this sug-

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Bonn Defence Minister Rupert Scholz (left) and Washington Defence Secretary-designate John G. Tower at the Wehrkunde conference. (Photo: AP)

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Chancellor in Spain

Chancellor Helmut Kohl (left) with Spain's Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez, during a visit to a conservation area near Seville. The Chancellor spent one day privately in Spain and followed this with two days of wide-ranging talks with Spanish officials. (Photo: dpa)

INTERNATIONAL

Libyan affair leaves its mark on links between Bonn and Washington

Bonn and Washington had hoped that the institutionalisation of a German-American Day on 6 October each year would help foster a feeling of solidarity between the two nations.

They hoped it would emphasise the historical contribution Germans made towards building the United States of America.

The Bonn government, however, stabbed itself in the back by handling the affair surrounding the controversial chemicals exports to Libya the way it did and causing a tremendous amount of unnecessary trouble.

There is particular cause for concern about the reputation of the Federal Republic of Germany outside Washington, where local newspapers usually print the leader articles published in the big dailies.

A nasty expression such as "shopkeepers of death" used there can turn into insidious poison.

People tend to concentrate on the moral aspect of the affair rather than on its political aspect.

The American government is handling the case with restraint, and even the press is showing no sign of pleasure at the misfortunes of Bonn's disgrace.

The superlatives which always crop up now and again during irritations between allies ("the most serious row for decades") are generally rooted in German fluster about American fluster, the latter usually being more short-lived.

The Libya deal has now become a domestic policy issue in Germany, whereas everyday political life in Washington only takes marginal note of the affair.

This does not mean, however, that Germans and Americans can go back to business as usual without giving any thought to the latest irritations.

The reference by CDU politician Volker Rühe to "thin ice" shows that a nerve has been hit. A more apt reference would be to "thin nerves."

Once a stage has been reached in the relationship between friends where there are accusations of dishonest motives there is cause for concern.

The Americans are finding its difficult to adjust to a world in which the losers of the Second World War have become the leading economic powers and are voicing their interests with growing self-confidence.

For Americans it is a new experience to feel their dependence on export markets if they want to tackle their deficits and mountain of debt.

The Americans find it difficult to understand a policy of the extended hand towards Moscow, which they feel romanticises something which has yet to exist in more concrete and irreversible form.

Self-confidence makes the Germans both more self-assured and more sensitive. They react allegically to everything which could arouse doubts about their sovereignty.

Own interests — in particular in the economic field — have priority.

Pride about being an exporting power mingles with pride about soon becoming the centrepiece of the huge European single market, which will be a match for the economic power USA.

Bonn's representatives of a divided nation are investing tremendous effort in creating a European peace order and reducing tension, mistrust and weapons.

In the eyes of the Americans they appear to be too willing to credulously bid farewell to the strategy of nuclear deterrence and too unwilling to spend more on conventional defence.

The political right-wing in the USA has been worried about neutralist tendencies in Germany for some time now.

Henry Kissinger feels that there is a certain risk of estrangement between Western Europe and the United States.

Two of his former close colleagues now hold key posts in the Bush Administration: Snowcroft as presidential security adviser and Eagleburger as deputy Secretary of State.

In the State Department everyone still confirms that the Federal Republic of Germany, especially due to its geographical situation, is the most important alliance partner in Europe. There would appear to be no alternative to close cooperation.

What holds any defence alliance together, however, is the fear of the potential aggressor.

The Americans apparently feel that the Germans have lost this fear. In the USA a hostile relationship towards the Soviet Union is regarded as normal and a partnership at most as a vision.

The results of opinion surveys in the Federal Republic of Germany have got all the warning lamps blinking in the USA.

The embracing of Gorbachov's ideas, the trust in the East bloc's demonstration of its desire for peace, and the desire to get rid of nuclear weapons make many Americans ask whether the German loyalty to Nato is beginning to crumble in the face of the Soviet peace initiative.

Washington is particularly interested in this question as it is forced to save and obliged to share out defence burdens with its allies.

Pulling troops out of Europe, however, should only be cautiously used as a lever.

It could be interpreted as an indication that the USA believes that the risk of East bloc aggression is so minimal that there is no reason why the boys should not be called back home.

In view of such tactical considerations the Federal Republic of Germany and Western Europe as a whole must assume greater responsibility for its own future and not just demonstrate greater self-confidence.

This includes a stronger political will, something the USA missed to such an extent in Bonn that it went so far as to expose its alliance partner and friend by means of deliberate indiscretions.

This was by no means intended as an attack on German sovereignty, but as a reminder of the responsibility which accompanies political power and independence.

And even if the Bush Administration does not keep on reminding its allies of this fact, Congress will.

To talk of irreparable damage, however, would be throwing the baby out with the bathwater.

Jürgen Kour

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 3 February 1989)

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gestion. Scholz indicated that he could imagine a unilateral renunciation of artillery munition.

He did qualify this, however, by adding that the remaining weapon systems — this would then include the new short-range missile — must be kept at a modern level.

In the light of recent experiences Scholz refrained from reading out a passage in his speech relating to fundamental questions of the role and the legitimation of nuclear weapons and the growing need for information "in almost all alliance countries and for almost all their populations."

Despite these differences of opinion Nato's overall armament and arms control concept is to be adopted in the spring.

Nato secretary-general Manfred Wörner tried to spread a bit more optimism. He admitted that Nato had its problems, but claimed that these resulted from its success.

Mikhail Gorbachov, on the other hand, had problems because his system had failed. "Our values will prevail," he emphasised. No need for faintheartedness.

As for the remaining differences of opinion Tower praised the advice given by ex-general Gerd Schmückle 15 years ago: "If we can't act like an alliance we should at least behave like allies."

Detlef Puhl

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 30 January 1989)

American test for Economics Minister

The visit to Washington by Helmut Haussmann, Bonn's new Economics Minister, was his 10th — and without doubt it was the most difficult.

The Libyan factory affair put him into such an awkward position that his task — trying to persuade the Americans that the single European market won't be as bad as it sounds — was more difficult than it might have been.

The USA is worried that the European Community will turn into a European "fortress".

The good news — that Germany has made its contribution towards reducing the American current deficit on current account by cutting back exports to the USA and increasing imports from the USA — was only worth half as much as it was before the chemical-plant scandal.

Haussmann almost jeopardised the success of his talks when he said at a press conference that he saw no sense in responding to one emotional campaign with an equally emotional one.

But he saved the situation by pointing out that the question had been phrased that way. There was a risk of giving the impression that the Bonn Cabinet wasn't really in the know about the nature of the accusations.

These accusations are not the product of deliberate malice but the result of exaggeratedly lax controls by Bonn and of a blind-eye policy.

Here, Haussmann had some tightened controls to offer, something which was at least able to convince the Americans about Bonn's good intentions.

Haussmann got the impression during talks with disarmament expert William Burns that the USA is less interested in crying over spilt milk and more interested in making sure it doesn't happen again.

During his talks with secretaries of state (ministers) and congressmen, Haussmann realised that the latter argue along more strident lines.

They are known to be keener on protectionist measures whereas the Administration is more for free trade.

This explains why it was easier to pacify Treasury Secretary Brady and Secretary of State Baker with declarations of intent than congressmen and Senators.

Congress keeps a wary eye on the Germans. It is not so keen on simply accepting the German export philosophy which regards compulsory licensing for exports as the exception rather than the rule.

The Bush Administration is more willing to wait and see how effectively controls and increased fines are and whether German industry realises that illegal exports jeopardise exports in non-sensitive goods.

Haussmann was wise to warn against belittling the talks by citing the argument that vested American business interests are behind the attacks from the USA.

After all, one of the main reasons for his visit to the USA was to tell Americans that fears about the 1992 European single market are unfounded.

He accused them of not having prepared themselves properly for the opportunities the project provides.

Instead, he said, they have been immobilised by their fear of competition.

The envisaged European market does indeed hold promise of growth stimuli for the European Community's trading partners.

The economic self-interest of the European Community, which is more dependent on exports than the USA, makes a rejection of any form of isolationism no more than natural.

For the Americans the future offers a single export market with much easier marketing conditions.

Haussmann's rejection of any short-sighted egoism, however, has obviously become less credible in view of the recent experience with the Germans.

Informing Americans about the true background of the problem has to be combined with a clearing up of misunderstandings.

The fact that the dispute between the USA and the European Community about hormone-treated meat is not being blown up out of proportion is a hopeful indication that in the end reason may prevail.

Jürgen Koar

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 4 February 1989)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Coalition under threat from three factors

Could the next general election in Bonn in 1990 be the end of road for the ruling centre-right coalition?

This had seemed a pretty unreal notion — until now.

Suddenly, three factors have emerged which could topple the coalition (between the conservative parties, CDU and CSU, and the liberal Free Democrats) and end Helmut Kohl's chancellorship before he has been in office as long as his predecessor Helmut Schmidt (eight-and-a-half years):

- *The swing-to-the-right syndrome.* If the CDU and CSU now start pursuing a national-conservative course to try and stop voters from voting for the extreme right-wing Republicans (as they did during local elections in West Berlin) they would drive a wedge between the CDU/CSU and the FDP.

The Free Democrats would then present themselves as the guardian of the liberal law-and-order principles and develop such a distinct political image that they would no longer have to worry about getting the five per cent of the vote needed for parliamentary representation.

The FDP would become a more attractive partner for a conceivable coalition with the SPD.

- *The shame-at-the-Ostpolitik syndrome.* It corresponds to the *raison d'état* of the Federal Republic of Germany to seek conciliation with Eastern Europe and to try to pacify the Communist system with all means at its disposal — without illusions and without any egoistic national ambitions, firmly embedded in the West, but acknowledging the political East as the other half of Europe and not simply as a perpetually unalterable opponent.

If the Chancellor shamefacedly lets this be run down by hardliners at home and elsewhere in the West as "Genscherism" or "The German Danger" (*The Times*) and discredited as a sign of unreliability he will push the FDP even further away from the conservative union and into the arms of an SPD which has now returned to a more acceptable foreign policy course.

- *The rearmament syndrome.* The electoral support for the conservative parties will dwindle even further if the word gets around that they are beginning to shuffle their feet over disarmament policy.

Although they repeatedly proclaim their interest in a drastic reduction of the level of armament in both halves of Europes they resort to the nebulous when it comes to concrete suggestions.

The Chancellor would prefer the subject to disappear somehow from public discussions until after the next general election.

The Munich Wehrkunde conference at the end of January showed that this cannot work out.

The US Secretary of State-designate John Tower insisted on the modernisation of the western arms inventory as soon as possible.

He was emphatically backed by the British Foreign Minister, Geoffrey Howe.

Bonn Defence Minister Rupert Scholz, however, wound his way in a rhetorical slalom around the awkward issues.

Why not nail colours to the mast and tell the public what the Bonn government wants?

It will come to light sooner or later anyway and a lot of things will then become clear.

First, the term "modernisation" is a case of fraudulent labelling with regard to the short-range nuclear Lance missiles, of which there are 600 in the Federal Republic of Germany. There are 88 launching pads for these missiles.

Keeping these missiles technically "up-to-date" means replacing a rotary switch by a rocker switch, a clock with a simple winding mechanism by a quartz clock or a Volkswagen beetle with 30 horsepower by one with 40 horsepower.

What Nato plans to do is completely different. A tractor is to be replaced by a racing car.

The missile to succeed the Lance is planned as a completely new weapon, with a range of just under 500 kilometres instead of the 120 kilometres reached by the old model which runs out in 1995.

This does not violate the INF treaty, but does mean that rearmament will be taking place in a category which has been ignored so far by the West.

Second, the threat of such a "modernisation" could be justified — along the lines of Nato's former twin-track resolution — as a means of exerting pressure on the Soviets to reduce their roughly 1,400 missiles in this range.

As opposed to the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, however, there is no need for such pressure.

The Kremlin is willing to negotiate and, in addition, willing to talk about a third zero solution.

The West and the Bonn government, however, do not want this, since they claim that this would boil down to a "denuclearisation" of Western Europe.

This is another case of eyewash. Even without short-range missiles in the Federal Republic of Germany Western Europe would by no means be denuclearised.

There would still be the nuclear weapons on combat aircraft (whose number is to be increased); there would still be



the British and French nuclear weapons; and there would still be the nuclear missiles on American submarines assigned to the Nato Commander-in-Chief.

Third, the political effect of such a step towards even more armament would be fatal.

It would inevitably strengthen the position of those military officials in the Soviet Union who already dislike Gorbachov's disarmament policy.

What is more, the new weapons primarily threaten Germans in East and West.

No Chancellor in Bonn would assume responsibility for their use, which means that their deterrent power is zero.

They also threaten the Poles and the Czechs.

The introduction of these new weapons is being discussed at a time at which everyone hopes that Eastern Europe will be able to move towards greater relaxation and reform in an unintimidated atmosphere free from anxiety; an absurd situation.

Finally, the Americans regard the modernisation of these weapons as a lit-

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Right-wing Republicans still a little-known quantity

In the former Prussian metropolis of Berlin, of all places, where the ghosts of the recent past haunt the Germans perhaps more than anywhere else, the extreme right-wing Republican party won over 7 per cent of the vote at its first try in the local election there.

This does not mean that Berlin is a new fascist stronghold; nor that it is in danger of becoming one.

Who are the Republicans (REP for short)? The question is difficult. The party has not defined itself sharply.

Its position in the political spectrum is generally put by others: "right-wing radicals", "right-wing extremists", "ultrarightists" or "neo fascists."

The first analyses show that most Republican votes in working-class areas by ordinary people who once voted for Willy Brandt and, later, for Richard von Weizsäcker.

They must have felt that the established parties no longer represent their interests. There are plenty of reasons why.

The Republicans are not neo-Nazis. Due to their small number of candidates and lack of publicity, few of their voters could have been really familiar with them. They voted blindly.

The REP only really drew public attention in Berlin with a fuss over its TV advertising. Against the background of emotive theme music from a brutal western film, pictures were shown of Turkish children in the streets of Berlin.

The Republicans profess their support for the Bonn constitution and for a social order based on the rule of law and reunification.

They want: to abolish parole for violent criminals, life imprisonment for drug dealers, no vote for foreigners, no dual nationality and no separate citizenship for East Germans. They are for the Swiss rotation principle for guest workers.

The party, founded in 1983 by the CSU dissidents Franz Handlos and Ekkehard Voigt in Bavaria, has not yet been mentioned in any of the special reports on extremist groups by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

The party chairman since 1985, Franz Schönhuber (66), proudly talks about this. But, in Hamburg at least this may soon change. The head of Hamburg'sConstitution office, Christian Lochte (CDU), regards the Republicans as right-wing radicals "at the extreme right-wing fringe of the democratic spectrum."

Schönhuber himself has nothing against being called "right-wing-conservative."

With the demeanour of a demagogue at concert pitch he talks of a "reformed patriotism" — which does not prevent cheap propaganda against everything which is foreign.

The election success has already gone to the heads of the REP campaigners, who are already talking about nominating an "independent personality with national-conservative leanings" as a rival to Richard von Weizsäcker in the next presidential election.

They say they are waiting for the signal from the CDU and CSU.

Schönhuber is more than pleased about this sudden awareness about the party. He says it issurprising "who wants to talk to us now. They cannot stop us any longer."

Schönhuber was classified by the

A zig-zag career... Franz Schönhuber. (Photo: AP)

British at the end of the war as a "fellow traveller" because of his membership of the Waffen SS.

The butcher's son from Trostberg was an actor, a sports reporter for a magazine financed by the GDR called *Deutsche Woche*, a columnist for the *Abendzeitung* newspaper published in Munich, the editor-in-chief of the *tz*, classed at that time as an SPD sympathiser, a journalist at the Bayerischer Rundfunk broadcasting station, and then its deputy editor-in-chief.

In the meantime he had become a member of the CSU, married to a lawyer who was an SPD member of the Munich council, but who like her husband now belongs to the REP.

A zigzag. First to the right, then to the left, and then back to the right.

Schönhuber has justified his about-turns clumsily in a book. After several disputes he had to leave the Bavarian broadcasting station with a golden handshake and a good pension.

He became the figurehead of the right-wing, ousted Voigt and Handlos, and presented himself as a staunch conservative and tough party leader.

The man who likes making films of young Turks in Berlin owns a villa down on Turkey's Aegean coast.

His sights are now set on Bavaria, where 4,000 of the 7,800 REP members (REP figures) live.

With the help of cheap propaganda against foreigners and a rejection of the European Community he hopes to be able to take plenty of votes off of the traditionally dominant CSU in the Bavarian localelections in 1990.

The five per clause, which debars parties with less than 5 per cent of the vote from entering parliament, is unlikely to be an obstacle.

In the Bavarian assembly elections in 1986 the Republicans surprised everybody by getting 3 per cent.

In Baden-Württemberg (0.9 per cent) and Schleswig-Holstein (0.6 per cent) they were much less successful.

In June they will be contesting the direct elections to the European Parliament, which will at least provide the party with money in the form of election costs reimbursement.

Will the Republicans remain no more than a spook on the right-wing fringe? Will they remain as unpredictable as the will of the electorate in Berlin?

The direct elections to the European Parliament will give German voters their first opportunity to answer.

Ekkehard Kohrs

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 2 February 1989)

■ SECURITY

Sights set at an unprecedented high for new arms-reduction talks

The lessons of more than 15 years of talks between the Warsaw Pact and the Nato alliance on mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe (MBFR) indicate the kind of difficulties which lie ahead for the new negotiations on arms reduction from the Atlantic to the Urals. Since 1973 East and West have been unable to even reach agreement on the number of troops to be included in negotiations, even though talks in Vienna so far only related to the number of soldiers on active service.

There is still a discrepancy of roughly 150,000 between the number of East bloc troops assumed by the West to be in Central Europe and the number the East bloc itself claims it has.

The term "discussion on data" has dominated discussions so far. Agreement has at least been reached on objectives and principles.

Agreement has yet to be reached, however, on common criteria for counting the troop levels of land forces on both sides in Central Europe.

The final objective is to cut respective levels down to 700,000 men.

According to Nato data, the Warsaw Pact would have to make most of the cuts in its troop level in the Soviet, Polish, Czechoslovakian and East German land forces in order to establish a quantitative parity of 700,000 soldiers.

Will an extension of the region under negotiation to the whole of Europe help break this deadlock in future, even though all land forces on the European continent and the European islands extending to the Caspian Sea in the south-east of Europe will then have to be counted and compared?

Never before has arms control policy set its sights so high in negotiations between potential wartime enemies.

The objectives outlined in the Vienna mandate, agrreed on between the 23 member states of the two alliances as Appendix III of the Final Document of the CSCE Review Conference, are specified as "the consolidation of stability and security in Europe through the creation of a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces, including conventional arms and equipment, at a low level and the elimination of imbalances detrimental to stability and security" and, as a "priority" task, "the elimination of the ability to trigger surprise attacks and to initiate large-scale offensive action."

Such communiqué language is roundabout and vague, which was only to be expected from the result of an initially controversial discussion on vague concepts.

There is not a great deal of logic in this common basis for East-West negotiations.

The translation of the negotiating mandate into practice, therefore, is going to be correspondingly difficult, although no-one expects anything else.

If the primary objective of "stability and security in Europe" is taken at its face value it is fair to claim that, apparently, this already exists without the "stable and secure balance" of conventional forces, which according to the Vienna mandate has yet to be "created."

In line with its wording, once this balance has been created success would consist of "consolidating" what already exists.

Despite a blatant imbalance between the land forces of Warsaw Pact and Nato there is nevertheless, according to military criteria, "stability and security."

The content of these two conditions have yet to be more clearly defined.

It is impossible to to prove that they consist of a rough balance of conventional forces between East and West, since this is one of the objectives of negotiations.

So how can these qualities of the European situation be specified?

As the Nato armed forces in Europe are clearly inferior in quantitative terms to those of the Warsaw Pact any compensation can only comprise greater military quality, greater mobilisation reserves and reinforcement troops on the part of Nato as well as the nuclear means of response and escalation by the western alliance.

Nuclear armament, however, is not really the subject of negotiation in the talks scheduled to begin on 6 March in Vienna.

Weapon systems which could be equipped with nuclear weapons, however, such as artillery guns, ground-to-ground missiles and combat aircraft, should — at least according to the Warsaw Pact — be included in the negotiations about conventional forces.

With the exception of the artillery sector, the Nato states have rejected this so far. For good reason.

With reference to this bone of contention the wording of the Vienna communiqué runs as follows:

"No conventional weapons or equipment will be excluded as the subject of negotiation because they can also be used in fields other than the conventional field.

"Such weapons or equipment will not be singled out as a separate category. Nuclear weapons will not be the subject of these negotiations."

The formulation of this passage explains the discord.

The Soviet Union reserves itself the right to include short-range missiles which can be equipped with nuclear warheads as well as combat aircraft with the same potential in the negotiations.

Representatives of the Soviet government have already made announcements to this effect.

Moscow has already proposed a special combination.

It would like to see the undisputed large number of Soviet short-range missiles in Europe — according to Nato data 1,364 launching systems with several thousand missiles — offset against the claimed preponderance of Nato's nuclear-potential combat aircraft in Europe within the framework of asymmetrical reductions.

It remains to be seen whether the new negotiations in Vienna will only consider conventional armed forces (without naval forces, which are still excluded) "which are stationed on land" or whether combat aircraft and missile systems which can be equipped with nuclear warheads will also be included.

As the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact as a whole insist on an elimination of nuclear armament in Europe the East bloc can be expected to pursue this kind of negotiation strategy.

The Vienna mandate agreed on in January provides the basis for such an approach.

The talks are scheduled to focus on the disparities in the field of conventional armed forces, since it is primarily land forces which can cross borders and gain enemy territory.

There are indeed substantial "imbalances" between the respective land forces in Europe, to the detriment of the West, especially with respect to the most important battlefield weapons.

In the combat tank category the Warsaw Pact has a superiority of 35,100 tanks (51,500 WP compared with 16,400 Nato).

The Warsaw Pact has 28,400 more artillery guns (43,000 WP compared with 14,400 Nato).

In addition, there are the combat aircraft, including fighters, on both sides.

The Warsaw Pact has 8,250 combat aircraft and fighters in Europe as opposed to Nato's 3,977 (end of 1987), a superiority of roughly 5,200.

The unilateral reductions announced by Gorbachov and Honecker would adjust but not eliminate these disparities.

And only, of course, if the West makes no reductions of existing numbers.

On 7 December, 1988, in New York Gorbachov announced the withdrawal



of 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery weapons and 800 combat aircraft of the Soviet forces, including 5,000 tanks from Central Europe.

In January 1989 Honecker announced that he would start pulling 10,000 East German soldiers, 600 tanks and 50 combat aircraft out of active service.

The objective of the Nato states for the Vienna negotiations is an asymmetrical reduction of respective land forces by 220,000 men, 25,000 tanks, 11,000 armoured personnel carriers and 22,000 guns by the Warsaw Pact, and 9,000 men, 800 tanks and 400 armoured personnel carriers and artillery guns respectively by Nato.

According to Nato data this would mean a reduction to 95 per cent of the current Nato force level in Europe and

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Fighter-aircraft exports are a grey area

Military cooperation between European Community Nato members is a grey area. It has become even greyer after the news that "British" Tornado combat aircraft have been exported to Saudi Arabia, Jordan and South Korea.

The multi-role combat aircraft was planned, designed and built jointly by Germany, Britain and Italy.

The three governments subsidised development costs of the consortium responsible for the sircraft, Panavia.

The West German member of the consortium is the aerospace company Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB), which has now been taken over by Daimler-Benz.

London, and later on the other two partner countries too, reserved the right in the joint contract to authorise future aircraft sales to other countries at its own discretion, although loose "consultations" were reputedly envisaged as a kind of final barrier.

In order to enable the reconstruction of the German aircraft industry Bonn already accepted similar agreements during earlier Franco-German projects such as Alpha-Jet and the Transall military transporters — despite a fundamental export ban for armaments to "areas of tension".

The (in Bonn) controversial combat aircraft project for the 1990s (Euro-fighter), for which Bonn and London bear a 33 per cent share of the development costs respectively, Italy 21 per cent and Spain 13 per cent, is also reputed to have similar "export conditions".

The contractual terms for the Franco-German helicopter construction, the new Nato frigates and other European armament projects are no different.

The extent to which the respective business consortia — Panavia in the case of the Tornado exports — have to channel net profits back to the subsidising governments is not known.

As in the case of MBB, for example, British Aerospace is also provided with government subsidies for the development of new types of Airbus.

The governments of all major Western European countries justify their financial support for such projects by pointing out the fact there would be a total dependence on the internationally dominant USA without such state-subsidised joint projects — especially in the field of aerospace construction.

In the military field France is the only country to refuse collaboration for the Euro-fighter, opting for a much more expensive construction of its own.

A further argument forwarded by governments and companies is that the French-German-British Airbus project with partial involvement by other European Community countries would not be possible without the "fruits" of military aircraft construction.

Developing countries and even East Bloc countries are now glad that the Airbus offers a value-for-money alternative to the US-American and Soviet passenger aircraft.

The Socialist group in the European Parliament already developed an initiative for uniform European Community guidelines for arms exports two years ago.

So far the European Commission hasn't tackled the issue because the military sector is legally excluded from the Treaty of Rome.

In the mid-Seventies the Italian Commissioner Altiero Spinelli — later a member of the Communist group of the European Parliament — failed to gain support for his suggestion to set up a European Community arms control authority.

In the projected single European Community market, however, the question of uniform controls and regulations for the export of chemical installations which can be used for the production of chemical weapons in developing countries will have to be resolved.

Erich Hauser

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 27 January 1989)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Nuclear-based non-war takes a divided Europe past a peaceful milestone

Europe might be still divided, but last year, almost unnoticed, it passed a milestone: it has now enjoyed a longer period of "non-war" than at any time in the many centuries of its history.

The 43 years of the Peace of Frankfurt, lasting from 1871 to the outbreak of the First World War, were the historically longest period of peace in the Old World.

Shaped by belief in progress and the absolutist state, trust in stability and the accumulation of conflicts, these years ended in what General de Gaulle called the Thirty Years' War of our century in 1944.

The Middle Ages and the early modern age experienced more years of war than years of peace.

It was often difficult to distinguish between civil war and war. Due to hibernal immobilisation war was frequently a seasonal affair.

Thomas Hobbes' fear of life in a natural state — "solitary, poore, nasty, brutish and short" — and his advocation of the absolutist state as a guarantor of peace and saviour against total war heralded change in the bloody middle of the 17th century.

The state in the 18th century prohibited domestic warfare and thus legitimated its power base.

This was a prerequisite for engaging in externally orientated wars with even greater force.

All military campaigns, however, were restricted by the scarcity of resources and the price of the soldiers.

Whoever won a victory without a battle on the merit of manoeuvring skills was the best general.

Irrespective of what civilisation and human rights may owe to the French Revolution war owes it most: from universal conscription to the battle of annihilation, from the *levée en masse* to the "absolute war", which Carl von Clausewitz (*Vom Kriege*, 1831) counseled against so eloquently but to no avail,

Since then railway and telegraph, machine-gun and tank, submarine and aircraft have increased the facilities of destruction.

At the beginning of the Second World War cavalry sabres were still being sharpened; at the end of the war the plutonium bomb exploded over Nagasaki.

Among the reasons for long-lasting peace the most effective is the one which requires the greatest consideration: the existence of nuclear weapons.

The bomb achieved what neither Christianity nor Enlightenment, neither hegemony nor equilibrium, neither the bourgeois state nor Socialism was able to bring about: the deterrence of war.

Raymond Aron described the mutual blockade of the balance of nuclear power in which the world in entrapped yet safeguarded using the words "War improbable, peace impossible."

The fact that beyond this nuclear "snare" 25 wars are being waged is food for thought.

Moral protest against nuclear weapons sounds hollow when measured in terms of the experience before they came along and during their existence.

The existence of nuclear weapons was accompanied by the Pax Americana, whose protective role was most obvious in Germany and was most readily accepted here due to the defeat of 1945 and the Stalinist threat.

It was the basis of moral rehabilitation, economic prosperity and political advancement.

Without America it would hardly been possible to shield Europe from the ghosts of its past and give a roof to European integration.

And the throes of the old colonial empires would have been much more painful and dangerous.

The third element of peace since 1945 consists of the exhaustion of the European absolutistic state and the realisation that it contributed most to the greatest catastrophe of our century which began in 1914.

The idea of a larger and federal Europe developed in the European resistance movements, including the German one.

This idea was not supposed to stop at the River Elbe.

And the experience of economists showed that warring potentials must be welded together to serve the interests of peace.

It should not be forgotten today that a united Europe was the end, economic integration merely a means.

So do we simply owe peace to the fact that the world has become too fragile for war?

This is the morally unsatisfactory aspect of the new state of peace.

It is not the result of a love of mankind or the preaching of penance and a mending of our ways, but of the fact that, for the first time in its history, the existence of mankind was thrown into the balance of reason.

Is a different and more reliable basis for peace conceivable and feasible?

And how can permanency be given to the state of nuclear peace?

To call for the abolition of nuclear weapons without the loss of peace requires tremendous belief in the goodness of mankind and shows an unfamiliarity with the nuclear-free history of the world, from Cain and Abel to the year 1945.

Arms control remains a tightrope walk between a policy of maintaining equilibrium and continuing strategy by other means.

This is an inadequate basis for an international order. As nuclear weapons can no longer be eliminated what is needed is a notworking of the dangers and interests of highly industrialised societies in East and West.

The corresponding confidence-building measures must be developed on a large scale.

The question can then remain open whether the type of peace which has existed since 1945 is based on nuclear foundations or not.

Michael Stürmer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 January 1989)

40 years since the nation was founded

The Bonn government intends spending about DM24m in 1989 on events marking the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Parliamentary secretary of state in the Bonn Interior Ministry, Horst Waffenschmidt, announced in Bonn that over 180 events are planned throughout the land.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl will be opening the central touring exhibition "40 Years of the Federal Republic of Germany" in the Bonn Science Centre on 16 February.

This exhibition begins its tour to Berlin, Mainz, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Munich, Wiesbaden and Kiel (in that order) at the beginning of April.

One of the main events during the jubilee year will be a state ceremony on 24 May in Bonn.

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker and Bundestag Speaker Rita Süssmuth will speak to mark the occasion.

The Basic Law, the West German constitution, was promulgated on 23 May, 1949.

"In the year 1989 we can look back on 40 years of peace and freedom," said Waffenschmidt.

The various events will show the achievements during these years as well as the difficult problems which had to be overcome.

"This is an encouragement to tackle the tasks and challenges of the future." Waffenschmidt added.

The social highlight of the year will be a special "Citizens' Party" in Bonn on 23 September.

The party's organiser Dieter Haupt will be erecting a huge tent city on the grounds of the former Federal Horticultural Show.

Tens of thousands of visitors will be given an opportunity to visit different

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programmes and enjoy culinary delicacies.

The parties represented in the Bundestag will also have special information booths.

The Federal President and the Chancellor will be inviting people along to an "open day" at their official offices.

They want to be able to personally shake hands with the visitors.

The individual *Länder* (states) will also be celebrating the constitution's 40th "birthday" on 23/24 May in Bonn.

This "Festival of the Constitution" will be taking place on the market square.

Each *Land* will be presenting its cultural diversity.

Apart from the official events and ceremonies organised by the Bonn government numerous associations, organisations, political parties and trade unions throughout the Federal Republic of Germany will be organising their own programmes.

The Federal Government's Press and Information Office in Bonn has issued a special leaflet with information on important dates and events in 1989.

The leaflet will be sent free-of-charge to those interested.

AP

(Bremer Nachrichten, 28 December 1988)

■ TRADE AND POLITICS

Factory in the sand raises curtain on haze of the uncontrollable

Chancellor Helmut Kohl says any German involvement in the manufacture of another country's chemical or nuclear weapons is "absolutely unacceptable." The comment is directed at America.

But the Chancellor cannot do much more than issue moral appeals to German industrial management. The door to such involvement is open and will remain open.

The affair surrounding the Libyan business contacts of the firm Imhausen makes this all too clear.

Whereas the inspectors of the Freiburg Regional Finance Office saw and found nothing, the Americans came up with some strong indications, albeit acquired from the questionable source of tapped telephones, for the firm's involvement in the building of an alleged chemical weapons plant in Rabta.

There are growing signs that the allegations are true. In an open industrial society it is easy to find roundabout ways and loopholes for trade in dangerous goods.

So what can the Europeans do to prevent such illegal transactions in future?

Unfortunately, the road to salvation leads either to a Big Brother state or to a 100 per cent control of exports.

As both are unacceptable, all an uncontrolled industrial society can do is develop strategies focusing on certain fields and practise powers of moral persuasion.

Fines are also of little use, since the profit margin is so high for deals in highly sensitive products that the firms concerned can take the relatively low fines in their stride.

SONNTAGSBLATT

Then, of course, there is the partly philosophical and partly practical question: when does a commodity become dangerous? When does it become a weapon?

Technical inventions ranging from the hand-axe and the wheel to a nuclear power plant have always also been used — to a greater or lesser extent — as weapons.

Export bans, therefore, can only concentrate on extremely dangerous goods and on those which others are otherwise unable to produce.

There are enough examples and enough slip-ups. The perhaps best-known embargo list is Nato's Cocom list, which tries to cut off Moscow from sophisticated technology.

Many high-tech products, such as computers and jet engines, are on the list.

Sensitive products such as large-scale computers of the respectively latest generation, however, somehow managed to get to the USSR with the help of middlemen.

These goods often arrive after such long delays that the Soviets could just begin deciphering the technology as western countries were working on the next computer generation.

This list played an important part during the major gas-for-pipeline deal with the Soviet Union.

The idea was to pay for supplies of Siberian natural gas with the installation of a gigantic pipeline.

This pipeline required over 40 pumping stations to transport the gas to Europe.

These pumping stations were operated by means of a variant of the western jet engines.

This in turn was of military interest to the West because the Soviet Union cannot produce such engines because it does not have the metal alloys. A normal jet aircraft can thus become a highly sensitive product.

Does Rolls-Royce, for example, supply Libya's leader Gaddafi with strategic material when it produces engines for an Airbus belonging to the Libyan civil airline company?

These examples only illustrate a small part of the actual and conceivable activities in connection with the problem of international trade in technology to kill.

This can include nuclear power plants in Brazil built by West German power companies or blueprints for Pakistan.

The latter can be easily transported in a briefcase or telefaxed so that subsidiary firms in the country of destination can build the plants accordingly.

If possible, within the framework of a joint venture with a local state-run company.

Systems of control all fail if the deal is more significant than any moral misgivings or if the deal is more harmless than its background.

All that's needed to switch over a production control system are a number of electronic circuits.

Synthetic substances, synthetic fibres, weedkiller and pills can be produced in varying batch compositions using the same control system.

What use is the customer's guarantee that the goods delivered are only being used for non-military purposes? In cases of doubt, nothing.

Anyone who claims that a firm has supplied installations or a product in the knowledge that these are being put to military use in a war has to find evidence of premeditation.

Such action is only a punishable offence if the deal in question involved highly sensitive A, B and C weapons to areas of tension outside of one's own military alliance or even directly to the declared enemy in the East Bloc.

Governments can prevent exaggeratedly liberal trading in these products by introducing tough licensing procedures, compulsory registration and embargo lists.

This, however, stimulates the much more lucrative trade in the grey area. Export flows of this kind then get out of control altogether.

This is exactly what is happening in the field of arms trading in guns, missiles, aircraft and ammunition.

There are plenty of shady dealers who operate under the facade of respectable businessmen.

Their supplies are always destined for countries inside Nato or to Nato-friendly countries. The export licences are all above board, but the destinations are often altered en route.

Cheap gangster films available down at the local video library show how it's all done.

The tricks are so easy that even the amateurish gun-running operation led to Colonel Oliver "Ollie" North knew how to apply them in the cellar of the White House (even though this particu-

Continued on page 8

Over-extended department not able to close the loopholes

Whenever questions of sensitive exports to Libya or Iraq by German companies hit the headlines, the Federal Office for Trade and Industry comes into the limelight.

This office at Eschborn, near Frankfurt, is responsible whether it concerns nuclear exports to Pakistan, plant for chemical weapons production such as at Rabta or Samarra, from guns to military trucks.

The office allocates export licences for the sale of armaments according to the Foreign Trade Law of 28 April 1961.

Exports of items listed by Bonn as requiring approval can only leave the country with the agreement of this office.

It is subordinate to the Economic Affairs Ministry, and is right in the thick of the most sensitive of the Federal Republic's foreign policies and their credibility.

Now that controls are being taken seriously, it is being unfortunately revealed that there is a wide gap between requirements and realities at Eschborn and that effective supervision possibly is not desired.

Paragraph 2 of the Foreign Trade Law makes obvious just how lax the Foreign Trade Law is thought to be.

This law says that the limitations and the duty to take action on exports "shall be so structured that as few interventions to economic freedom shall be made as possible."

The office is equipped accordingly. Staff and technical capabilities are hopelessly over-extended. Bonn ministries are even less helpful in describing the office as a "slow-coach department."

For years Bonn has disregarded the inability to cope of many departments among its staff of 500.

The consequence is that the Bonn government now has the Americans breathing hard down its neck, complaining of Bonn's massive failure to control exports to regions of tension.

Now that the stable door has been locked after the horse has bolted, improvements have been made, but the hoped-for effectiveness will be a long time in coming.

Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussmann (FDP) is now walking a tightrope. On the one hand he must demonstrate to the Americans that the Bonn government is intensifying its control of military-strategic exports, but on the other hand, as a liberal, he does not want to upset German exporters, who fear new controls and more red tape.

The result is the announcement of a long list, beginning with the Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy list to certain countries outside the East Bloc up to the data networks of certain government authorities.

Michael Waldmann, spokesman for the Federal Office, said that serious intervention into data protection between individual departments had never func-



tioned, "not even between the various control authorities such as the Environmental Protection Ministry, the customs service and our office."

Manfred Ruck, head of the embargo department in the Federal Office, was more precise in his criticisms of control possibilities of his organisation.

In the nuclear investigation committee he caused astonishment among members of the Bundestag in Bonn on 16 September last year when he said: "It is impossible to do specialist work in my office."

His department has to look into more than 120,000 cases a year. The pressure for export licences is so great that a thorough investigation of all files is impossible because of the lack of time.

Ruck described, for example, what happened at the Federal Office in the case of the movement of waste by the firm Transnuklear.

When the case came to public attention all the firm's files were examined again. Ruck said: "When I looked into the matter I have to confirm that if then a specialist had been there, he must have noticed something."

Ruck is abroad or elsewhere in the Federal Republic for between 70 to 80 days in a year. He has no other specialist people and Ruck cannot examine everything himself.

Ruck's criticisms had results. According to a statement from his superior, Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussmann, four senior officials would be added to the embargo department's staff, bringing it up to 75.

There are nevertheless still some gaps for sensitive exports. Anyone who operates on the fringe of legality can be certain that there is not enough personnel to control exports effectively.

It is impossible to apply more than a "conclusive control" on export licences submitted. Nevertheless the Federal Office for Trade and Industry does not want to be regarded as "a toothless paper tiger," according to Waldmann.

He said: "We shall let the customs service be more effective." But this service is without muscle.

Jürgen Rump from the customs crime institute in Cologne had to concede to the Bundestag committee: "If exporters have plant they would like to supply, separated into different parcels, and include a general description of the export items, as happened in the case of a chemicals plant for Iraq, then it is almost impossible for the customs office concerned to establish the connections between each shipment."

Klaus Wiendl

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 January 1989)

■ COMMODITIES

At last, Germany sees the future — and it's coming up quickly

For a long time it seemed that German financial institutions wanted to ignore the world-wide upswing in options and futures markets since the beginning of the 1970s.

Only in the mid-1980s did plans for a German futures market emerge. Then the idea quickly caught on.

In August 1987 the consultancy firm Arthur Andersen & Co, commissioned by the Frankfurt Stock Exchange, published a study on the establishment of a German Options and Financial Futures Exchange, which was then dependent on the Swiss Soffix and was trading under the name of Goffex. In many ways Goffex has been modelled on Soffex.

Now the futures market is being followed with great interest. The planning phase ended in the middle of December. Trial business should begin in September and the real McCoy, the German Futures Exchange, should be officially in operation on schedule a year from now.

The Bonn government has joined the enthusiasm. The cabinet quickly approved an amendment to the German Stock Exchange Law to provide a legal framework.

The amendment should be approved by the Bundestag and Bundesrat before the summer recess.

This amendment regulates mainly how the concept of stock exchange trading, transacted via the computer screen,

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

will be extended to firms. For the Futures Exchange is a pure computer exchange, without a trading hall.

A quoted price, confirmed on the screen, must legally have exactly the same effect as a price quoted by a broker on the stock exchange floor.

The stock exchange concept can no longer be limited to shares or commodities, but must include financial contracts like the German Shares Index (DAX) or a standardised federal loan, which in fact does not exist.

The most important changes involve private investors. Until now only dealers could conclude legally valid futures business. Private investors could turn to the so-called gambling plea on speculations which had gone wrong, and they have frequently done this.

For the legal position is that in futures dealings what is at stake for the contract partners is not effecting delivery of commodities or shares, but only speculation with the price difference — for private investors nothing more than a game of chance or a bet.

Debts in this game are not recoverable. Banks and brokers remain holding their customer's losses, if these are covered by the gambling plea. Credit institutions and securities companies protected themselves, by putting up barriers if clients wanted to do futures business.

They demand, for instance, provision of security, something like the mortgaging of a securities portfolio.

The futures market is mainly of interest to the professionals, institutional investors. But Rolf E Breuer, a member of the Deutsche Bank executive board and a promoter of the German Futures Exchange, said: "No-one per se will be excluded from the market." This explains why the Stock Exchange Law had to be amended.

The amendment provides a regulation, which will protect the inexperienced investor from unwittingly venturing into risky business.

Every investor must be advised in writing of the risks of this business before getting involved.

The investor must provide signed confirmation that this information has been passed on to him, and this procedure must be gone through again every three years.

Anyone who is informed about the risks in this way can no longer make the gambling plea.

Almost 12 months before the German Futures Exchange goes into operation, the ninth exchange in the country, the other eight have geared themselves up to making the Federal Republic a modern financial centre.

Since 1 January there have been Stop-Loss-Orders and Stop-Buy-Orders, well known in the USA for a long time.

Stop-Loss-Orders are executed if the quoted price drops to a certain level. When buying a share such an order can be issued for the likelihood that an important quoted stock goes down. Then the order is executed automatically.

The investor is in this way, to a certain extent, protected from the consequences of a drop in quoted prices.

The reverse is true for a Stop-Buy-Order, when a certain quoted price is exceeded.

In this instance the investor can be certain that an unexpected quoted price rise is not missed.

The scope for the placing of STOP-Loss or STOP-Buy orders is limited, at first at least, to the 30 stocks, listed in the German Share Index (DAX).

But such orders can only be issued in variable-price trading, with a minimum purchase or sale of five shares.

The Futures Exchange will, then, start operations in January 1990, at first with purchase and sale options on 14 high-turnover stocks, quoted in the German Share Index.

The DAX index will be calculated on 30 German blue-chip stocks and will be suitable, due to constant up-dating, as the basis for an index contract.

Trading with DAX and a fictive German bond issue with an eight to ten year term should be included early in 1990.

There are questions and problems concerning the relationship between the Futures Exchange and the eight other stock exchanges in the Federal Republic, called "Präsenzbörsen" because market operators are personally present on these exchanges.

Trading on the German Futures Exchange will take place between ten in the morning and four the in afternoon, but official dealings only for two hours (between 11.30 a.m. to 1.30 in the afternoon).

Compared with international custom this is a very short time-span.

Cash prices, that is actual quoted prices for shares, must be available to distribute prices for options and the DAX index. Thus it is intended to extend off board trading, which will appear on screen.

Official exchange brokers, whose domain is the spot market, as well as members of the other eight German stock exchanges, fear that trading on the floor will become less important.

It remains to be seen whether this can be prevented by turning off the screen while the official exchange is trading.

The supporters of the Futures Exchange counter these fears by saying that spot markets will profit from the suction effect which the Futures Exchange will have on foreign investors.

The short opening time of the exchange, which was strongly criticised in a Japanese seminar paper at the 1988 Shares Forum, would then become of less significance.

The chance of ensuring oneself against market price risks makes the German exhange all in all more attractive, particularly for managers of major funds.

Improved arbitrage possibilities — that is the specific exploitation of price differences on the individual exchanges — will attract investment professionals.

Supporters of the Futures Exchange believe that all in all the Exchange will not siphon off turnover from the spot markets but rather bring additional business.

The German Futures Exchange does not see itself competing with the eight other stock exchanges in the country, but mainly with the London Futures Exchange.

Since last September an issue of German bonds, called Bunds, has been handled with considerable success.

Jörg Franke, managing director of the German Futures Exchange, certainly had this in mind when he wrote in the latest issue of the German Futures Exchange journal: "In future the most interesting deals in deutschemarks will be concluded where the deutschemark is at home."

Leo Fischer

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 27 January 1989)

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numerical parity. A reduction along these lines would also mean that the Warsaw Pact loses its large-scale offensive capability, which includes its invasive capability against Western Europe, as well as its ability to launch large-scale surprise attacks, especially in Central Europe.

So far, however, the governments of the Warsaw Pact and in particular the Soviet government have not admitted to the quantitative superiority claimed by Nato.

On the contrary, they have claimed, for example, that Nato possesses a larger number of combat aircraft and combat helicopters, whereas the Warsaw Pact has less tanks than Nato assumes.

It is not going to be easy, therefore, to reach agreement on the terms of reference for negotiations.

Lothar Rühl

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 January 1989)

■ THE WORKFORCE

Trade union membership up, but so are costs



Apart from mass unemployment, new technology, the single European market and a conservative-liberal government, the Federation is saddled with its own problems in its 40th year," said Ernst Breit, chairman of the Düsseldorf-based Federation of German Trades Unions, or to give it its German initials, the DGB.

Political conflicts such as Sunday working or the relations between employers and trades unions (in matters of that kind he is used to arbitration) are not his prime concern at the present.

Breit, who looks constantly as if he is suffering from heartburn, is more worried about a difficulty he shares with all his member unions: he must make economies.

The DGB has closed down its weekly publication *Welt der Arbeit* which drained it of millions. But that is not enough to balance the Federation's DM215 million budget.

Over the next few years there is the threat of an annual shortfall of between DM2m to DM4m. In the short-term DM12m must be saved, and that despite membership figures "which are going along fine," as Breit put it in a more cheerful tone of voice.

Unlike their colleagues in most European countries German trades unions enjoy increasing membership. Total membership last year was 7.8 million, almost 50,000 more than in 1987.

Even in crisis industries such as building and mining or the civil service, education and the railways, where economy measures have been applied and jobs cut, the losses in membership are not as great as the jobs which have been wiped out.

But that has not helped. Nor has the fact that trade union contributions have increased by a quarter since 1980, according to the workers council at the DGB board of management.

Costs, particularly for personnel, have increased faster. Figures show that 65 per cent of the budget is committed to personnel costs, although insiders maintain that this figure is only on paper; in fact the percentage is much higher.

The reasons are the continuous high rate of unemployment and the deterioration of employer-employee relations. These factors have not brought about a fall in membership but they have caused increases in expenditure.

There has been an enormous increase in the number of court cases involving employment and social benefit matters. For example there are now approximately 120,000 cases a year concerning dismissals.

The DGB has had to increase the number of its staff who are legally trained to 350, double the figure of 20 years ago. There is no hope of making economies in this vital membership service.

Consideration is being given to a step, whose consequences boil down to reducing the DGB's political influence at lower levels. It has been proposed to shed 60 of the present full-time district chairmen. DGB members should in future gear themselves to the regional administration.

As incensed officials put it, the idea was presented to those concerned "with the sensitivity of a sledge hammer."

The wisdom of this idea is also brought into doubt, particularly as on the other hand, thought is being given to more regionalisation.

The Institute for the German Economy, a DGB organisation, in a study of trades unionism in the year 2000, said: "Firms must be permitted to react to regional and local trades union challenges and argumentation correctly on the spot through employers and employees associations."

DGB chairmen at district level are the same as Ernst Breit at the national level, even if they do not possess power independent of the divergent individual unions, and even if they are not "ideal trades unionists," who can speak for all worker organisations.

More important are the district chairmen in areas where no unions or only a few individual unions are represented and where the DGB does its job on the quiet in so far as its work is not limited to companies.

Even in the DGB itself officials can see an alternative to "a retreat from the grass-roots."

One of the four working groups, which have until the end of February to look into rationalisation and organisational reform so that Breit can make a decision at the end of June, is examining the possibilities of improving the activities of the 1,200 local branch offices.

To put more life into the work done by the lowest local level implies increasing full-time workers.

Trades union offices could be made into administrative centres to look after members, helped by "unofficial trades unionists" instead of professional officials.

This idea politicising the DGB was put forward in a recent survey, promising a great deal, by the Hanover social worker Oskar Negt, who has been a sympathetic critic of trades unionism since the 1960s.

DGB officials in Hesse drew attention to the central question of this idea at the very beginning of the discussion on organisational structure, a discussion in which some were for the proposals and others were for rejection.



In the limelight . . . trade union chief Breit (right) with Chancellor Kohl.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Full-time officials are rarely content to implement central decisions. They want to take part in decision-making, as the price of their cooperation as it were.

Rationalisation could lead to a democratisation of the DGB. The work done at local level by the DGB could even compensate to some extent for the disinclination to discuss matters in individual unions.

But many power-conscious trades union chairmen would probably use their veto rights.

It is not yet sure that all individual trades unions want a strong DGB. The trade, banking and insurance union is rather the exception.

This union says clearly that it is prepared to tackle a taboo subject and discuss whether more than 1.2 per cent of union contributions should be passed over to the DGB to put the financial problem right.

Instead of making savings at local level the DGB could economise at the expensive upper management level, even if not so much would be saved.

If at the DGB congress in Hamburg in 1990 it is decided to reduce the national executive board from nine to seven members, there would be an extra million deutschemarks in the treasury. This idea is being examined.

The idea only has a chance of getting out of the tangle of political, individual union and sex representation if, in the search for a successor to Breit, who is to retire next year, agreement can be reached on someone from the present DGB management.

This would increase the chances for Heinz-Werner Meyer, for the second time round chairman of the mining union, IG Bergbau, following Heinz-Oskar Vetter. He could become head of the DGB.

Meyer, 56, is a member of the Bundestag. He has more temperament than Breit, but he is like Breit in his awareness of the problems and his thoughtfulness.

But it is doubtful if it is right for the DGB's future, to elect the representative of a work category which is dying out to the top position in the Federation. And in addition a representative who comes from a union whose congress was looked upon by one newspaper as if it were a pontifical mass.

This is certainly not a sign that there would be more openness.

Thomas Kröter

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 27 January 1989)

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lar operation was busted). Weapons for the bad guys in Iran via the good guys in Israel.

Arms consignments sailed across the seas — with clean papers and shady destinations.

The monetary mirror image of the whole deal was structured the same way, only in the other direction. The world is divided and the world is not a peaceful place.

Even the economic superpowers USA, Western Europe and Japan, are not completely independent of countries from the Third World.

They have a vital interest in their raw materials and energy deposits.

Although the members countries of the Comecon can afford a certain degree of autarky at the expense of the standard of living of their population they are also obliged to keep their borders open for a transfer of technology.

International traffic flows are rapidly expanding and becoming more dense.

Every day the chances of even the most sophisticated supervision systems preventing the transportation of dangerous freight are diminishing. The European Community could, of course, seal off its frontiers a lot better.

Some Community member states, however, have special trade relations with some of the world's most unreliable trading partners — former colonies or Comecon or neutral states which can operate in all directions.

The Americans could also tighten up their borders. Even then, however, there is still enough regular border traffic between the USA and countries which do not always voice the same interests — for example, Mexico and Canada.

And Japan? Who knows that Japan does and would do to obtain coal, oil or natural gas?

Export bans on certain goods, statements of intended use and licensing procedures for others and a black list of certain nations could help make such deals less attractive because of the greater risks involved.

But the only real remedy is the realisation by the firms that it's not worth taking any risks in the first place.

Apart from the fact that these firms should check out all the uses which could be made of the product they wish to deliver to East Bloc or Third World countries beforehand a lot of businessmen act in line with the motto: if I don't deliver, someone else will.

Perhaps someone from a neighbouring country or from the next street or from the East Bloc. And that's when any moral scruples are dropped.

The poison-gas case brought to light by US allegations gives a true-to-life picture of what can happen in the haze of the non-controllable.

German technicians are hired for in Austria for work in Libya, German firms are dissolved after completing their special job.

Their foreign owners turn up in England and have presumably long since disappeared again.

Merchandise movements and financial transactions are carried out via third countries — but through a subsidiary of a West German freight forwarder.

Bernd Hansen

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 22 January 1989)

■ THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

Project tests rape oil as a substitute for diesel

Nordwest Zeitung

A government-sponsored pilot project is testing the feasibility of using rape-seed oil to power engines, The by-products of the combustion process, rape straw and rape cake are being used respectively as packing material and compost.

The experiment is taking place in Papenburg, in Emsland, in the western region of north Germany. The Lower Saxon government is investing 500,000 marks in the experiment, in which Papenburg's mayor, Heinrich Hövelmann, is running both his official car and a municipal tractor on rape-seed oil instead of diesel.

Herr Hövelmann says: "I am thrilled with the new motor." And into the tank goes another two litres of rape-seed oil from the supermarket. The car started immediately. The motor ran smoothly as the vehicle was taken up to 160 kilometres an hour (about 100 mph).

So far, the car has done 10,000 kilometres on rape-seed oil without any problems. Fuel consumption is five litres per 100 kilometres in city traffic and seven litres on the autobahn.

The motor is a small three-cylinder, oil-cooled plant weighing 137 kilograms which can accelerate the car from a standing start to 60 mph in 15 seconds.

He says fewer exhaust fumes are emitted than from a normal engine, even one fitted with a catalysator for use with lead-free petrol; there is almost no soot; and there is no more carbon monoxide than is produced in other engines.

But motor industry people do see problems. They say that protracted use of rape-seed oil increases the exhaust gases because the oil does not burn as well as diesel. Motors are also more quickly worn out. These are two aspects being put to the test in Papenburg.

The mayor and his cohorts are already convinced that the rape-seed oil motor has a future. Rape oil as a fuel belongs to an overall idea that he has worked out. The idea is that farmers in the area step up their rape production and bring their crop to the town's recycling centre, which has a brand-new oil mill.

Farmers should first secure their own supplies of oil and sell only the excess.

Lothar Müller, a mechanical engineer who is heading the pilot project, says: "The people of Papenburg would not object if the first rape-seed oil bowser were here."

The aim is that straw from the oil-making process would be used as an environmentally friendly packing material and the cake would be used as fertiliser on farms.

Hövelmann: "We are taking merely converted sun energy from the plant; the soil gets back the nutrition, the plant grows again and so a natural cycle develops."

He reckons that between 1,000 and 1,200 litres of oil per hectare would be produced. A farmer in the area says: "So far I get just 1,500 marks a hectare for rape. I don't want any less than that."

He finds the idea of rape-seed oil as a fuel good, but is not optimistic that it will be realised. "Too expensive," he says. To stay competitive, the state would have to give tax concessions and subsidies.

Money is the problem. With 1,000 litres per hectare needing to realise at least 1,500 marks, the price is already over a mark a litre. On top of that comes refining and distribution costs so that the price at the pump could easily be DM2.50. Diesel costs less than a mark.

Import suggestion

But Hövelmann dismisses such arguments strongly: "You can't measure the environment is terms of marks and pfennigs." He doesn't want the debate to concern itself with costs, only with the environment.

By one estimate if just 10 per cent of the diesel motors in Germany were converted to rape-seed oil, a fifth of the entire arable land of Germany would have to be given over to rape seed.

But Ursula Wentingmann, chief of the recycling centre, says that in the Third World, rape grows better than in Germany. Third World farmers could grow it and export it to Germany.

Erwin Bienewald

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 20 January 1989)

A tale of two makers . . . the Taro is ready to roll.
(Photo: dpa)

Toyota, VW join forces to market new model

Volkswagen and Toyota are jointly producing a one-ton pick-up (or utility) truck. It has been developed by Toyota but is being manufactured and marketed by both under the names Taro and Hilux.

The vehicle should be available in Germany in the middle of next month at a price of about 21,000 marks with 14 per cent value added tax on top of that.

The deal between these two huge manufacturers is another example of the trend towards international cooperation in the industry. The reason is simple: new vehicles, new engines or new transmission systems are expensive to develop. It is better to share the cost and buy components where they are cheapest rather than using exclusively your own.

Ford and General Motors are no longer just American. They are international. Toyota, Nissan and Volkswagen are not entirely Japanese and German.

The Taro/Hilux is intended as a replacement for the VW Caddy, a half-tonner which has been on the market since 1982.

Volkswagen produces vehicles in Mexico, Brazil, South Africa, Spain and in China (the Santana), but this cooperation deal with Toyota is something entirely new. It is 100 per cent Toyota even thohgh it is being assembled by VW in Hanover. German components are to be introduced step by step, first to 40 per cent and then ultimately to 60 per cent.

International deals are commoner the bigger the firms. Toyota is number three in the world and the biggest in Japan and VW fourth in the world and the biggest in Germany. But VW makes clear that this deal is a limited one and there is no likelihood of any tighter form. A spokesman says: "It is purely a production deal. Advantages are greater use of production capacity and a reciprocal transfer of know-how."

It is planned to build 15,000 of the new vehicles a year. Of these 10,000 will be Taros and will carry the VW logo. They will be serviced at VW depots. The remaining 5,000 will be called Hilux and will appear as part of Toyota's European range.

In addition, Toyota will import another 5,000 units of slightly different models from Japan — possibly including a car version — which it wouldn't be economical to assemble in Germany. The Taro has two seats in the front and the 3.4 square metre tray is capable of carrying 1.1 tons.

Its dimensions are not unusual for such a class of vehicle: 4,725mm long, 1,650mm wide, 1,550mm high. This year, it is available with a four-cylinder 83hp diesel motor but next year there should also be a petrol alternative. For the first time, VW is bringing out a vehicle of this class with rear-wheel drive.

It has five gears and can accelerate from a standing start to 60 mph in 24 seconds. Top speed is 90 mph.

Toyota is also involved in a joint programme in America with General Motors. Their joint firm, called Nummy (New United Motor Manufacturing) is also building pick-up trucks. With 1.5 million units a year, it is the biggest seller of this type in America.

Walter Seidlitz

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 21 January 1989)

■ FILMS

Where the crucifix left no room for a photo of Hitler



Joseph Vilsmaier's *Herbstmilch* (Autumn milk) is the film version of the highly successful autobiography written by Anna Wimschneider, a simple countrywoman.

It is set in Bavaria and covers mainly the years between 1938 to 1945.

Anna, played by Dana Vavrova, and Albert (Werner Stocker) take a fancy to each other when they meet as bystanders at a Nazi demonstration.

Neither of them has swastika flags. Anna does not raise her arm in the Nazi salute nor join in the Nazi songs — she is a child of nature, untouched by the demons of the dawning age.

This first encounter of the two main characters fulfills completely the film's promise, a union of the characters' personal and political experiences.

It is a glorious love-story set against the backdrop of the Nazi regime.

This dramatic contrast, however, is contrary to the purport of the book. Director Vilsmaier and his scriptwriter Peter Steinbach have developed the chronological, epic memories of a farm woman with cinematographic techniques, with flashbacks showing her childhood.

No-one has ever cashed in so laconically on the Nazi hierarchy at local district level as Anna Wimschneider, an uneducated woman from the Rottal-Inn district.

She describes in great deal her hard childhood, dominated by work. She does not waste too many words on observations about the head of the district or in her descriptions of his hangers-on and fellow-travellers.

Her sobriety, acquired through her harsh life, makes her indifferent to the pomp of the political system, her Catholic belief fortifies her against the Führer cult.

There is no photograph of Hitler in the corner of her room where the crucifix is displayed.

Albert's family was in tune with her attitudes. His uncle, also living on the farm, is a Christian opponent of the Nazis, and his brother, a social democrat, is shipped off to the concentration camp at Dachau.

Oddly enough Peter Steinbach, in many ways regarded as an expert on everyday life under the Nazis, uses this material sparingly. Albert's communist brother does not appear in the film and the uncle acts like an idiot.

When Anna and Albert wed the camera follows them in a romantic horse-drawn coach to the altar, not to the registry office.

There is nothing of Anna's disapproval at a gift of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* or her distaste for the Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*.

Vilsmaier enjoys depicting scenes of Bavarian country life. The farmers take in the district leader at a Bavarian harvest festival, with beer, sausages and sauerkraut and checkmate this drunken fool.

More convincing is the change to the burlesque when Anna goes to the local government office. She is pregnant. Albert has been called up for military service and she must manage the farm alone. She forces the authorities to allocate her a farm hand to help with the harvest.



Sobriety and a hard life in *Herbstmilch*. Anna Wimschneider (left) and Dana Vavrova, who plays her in the film. (Photo: Senator Film)

Vilsmaier lets gentle Anna, who began life as a kind of Cinderella, triumph despite the adversities of the times.

There are flashbacks to Anna, aged 8, who, after the death of her mother, does the washing in an icy barn for an enormous number of brothers and sister, or in the steamy kitchen cooks and mends for them, for which she is more likely to get a box round the ears than praise.

Then later, after her marriage, her mother-in-law, as wicked as a witch from a fairy tale, tries to abuse her, making her life a hell on earth.

But that sort of thing does not meet with success in the blessed district of Rottal-Inn. With wild extravagance Vilsmaier lets the camera wander over the gentle landscape through the changes of the seasons, looking at it as a whole and in detail. And he always takes care to show that the dreariness of everyday life is conquered by love.

Vilsmaier is sentimental in the utterly Bavarian bed scenes in his film, from the first night Anna and Albert spend together in the narrow maid's room with her younger sister present, to episodes during leave from the front.

Anna's pain every time Albert leaves to go back to the war is astonishingly superficial; there is less anxiety about possible death than worry about the man's work she is having to do.

Nor does the film celebrate Albert's survival and his return home from the war. Vilsmaier stylises Albert to a fairy-tale prince who, with an stern word, saves Anna from her mother-in-law who has humiliated her so much. He invites her to dance in the open air.

Vilsmaier battles in his political film that is uneven in style. It is not a Bavarian equivalent to Edgar Reitz's epic set in the Hunsrück, *Heimat*.

Eva-Maria Lenz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 January 1989)

A far too-serious look at four contemporary young women

Eva Heller's book *Beim nächsten Mann wird alles anders* (Everything will be different with the next man) has become a bestseller with sales of over 700,000 copies.

It deals with four very contemporary young women, Constanze and Julia, Birgit and Sieglinde.

Eva Heller will survive what director Xaver Schwarzenberger and two scriptwriters have done with her book.

The problem is that author Eva Heller, a professional cartoonist, has a sense of humour, and director Schwarzenberger has missed this. He takes the four women far too seriously.

They present themselves unpleasantly, are full of self-realisation and want to define themselves, and the Third World as well if that must be — but they only want to find a man who will save them and take them with him.

Eva Heller has fun with her helpless characters. She caricatures women, who love too much, who dream of a fairy prince, who look at their navel in the mirror, but are so emancipated.

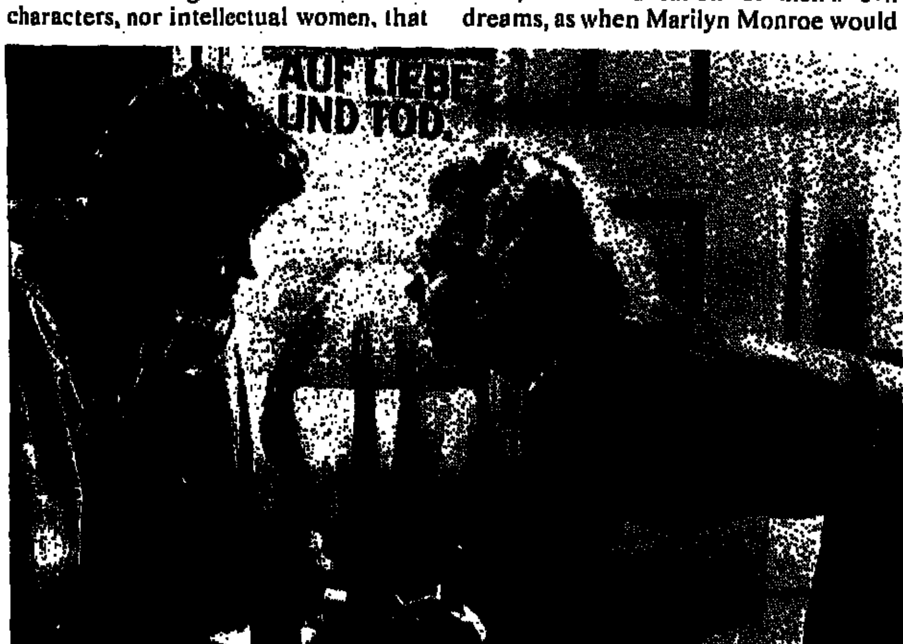
Yet the success of her book might be based on a small misunderstanding, for many female readers have identified with the leading, foolish character, Constanze, who wears feminism like a mini-skirt, with the purpose of getting fixed up with a man of course.

Schwarzenberger has zoomed in on this misunderstanding. He interprets Eva Heller's ironic laughter as a smirk; look, look, the damned emancipated women, who don't want work but rather a man. He seems to be saying that they only pretend to be studying, but are all the time spinning their web.

Many idiots get caught, such as this stupid intellectual chatter-box Gottfried Schachtschnabel.

Schwartzenberg cannot stand such characters, nor intellectual women, that is unfeminine women. Volker Kraeft does that the best.

Antje Schmidt, making her first appearance in a film, cannot be blamed that she was chosen for the main part of Constanze Wechselburger. She is, as it were, the visualisation of men's evil dreams, as when Marilyn Monroe would



Shall we have an intellectual relationship? In *Beim nächsten Mann wird alles anders*. (Photo: Tobis)

say: "I am looking for a relationship which is built on a intellectual basis not on the material..."

This Constanze is a student at the film academy. She throws her boyfriend, the pedantic and mean Albert, an assistant doctor, out of their joint apartment so as to share the incence of Gottfried's free emotionalism. But he chats up Julia first, Constanze's friend.

Julia is a school psychologist, newly divorced, cool and humourless. In fact she is a stupid cow, who eventually finds her stallion for life through an advertisement in a newspaper.

Then there is Brigit, who is dumb and naive, who prefers TV to men, ever through in secret she longs for a loving husband and a sweet baby.

She is cute and cuddly, just as she appears in the book, a caricature of the eternal woman.

Siegelinde is the fourth of the quartet on the look-out for a man. She knows how to go about things better than the others.

She clings up and never gives up. And in less than no time she has a man in the bag, and she can proudly have a double-barrelled name, "so that," as she tells her girl friend, "people know that you are really married." Her name is now Lamar-Schadler.

Constanze also gets close up to Gottfried and then down on the floor. Oh horror! Oh interruptus! The wife who is still his wife rings three times at the door or and everything is over. Constanze

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■ THE ARTS

Paul Klee and the theatre of a fairy-tale logic



Heinz Berggruen, an important art-dealer and collector, regards Paul Klee as second only to Pablo Picasso in 20th century art. He has been collecting the artist's pictures for over 40 years.

Since the Second World War he has organised seven Klee exhibitions in his gallery and has now donated his Klee collection, made up of 11 paintings, 91 water-colours and gouache works, to museums in Paris and New York.

In 1958 and in 1972 he presented 13 Klee works to the Musée National d'Art Moderne. Five years ago he and his family donated 90 Klee works to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (to introduce Klee to the American continent).

This important Klee collection can now been seen complete for the last time in an exhibition in Tübingen's Kunsthalle. Only the section of the exhibition destined for America will eventually go on to London.

The exhibition is the most significant collection of Klee works outside Europe, and it is hoped that it will increase in number for Berggruen is acquiring new works all the time as soon as he gets on their trail.

Götz Adriani has added a new success to the list of his significant and publicly acclaimed achievements so far.

Berggruen's "love affair which has not yet ended" with the works of Klee began in the San Francisco Art Gallery in 1936. He was an art student and journalist from Berlin who had emigrated from Nazi Germany.

In that year he bought his first Klee work for $100, a water-colour, *Perspectiv-Spuk*, dating from 1920, which reminded him of Kafka's world.

This first acquisition became his future "talisman." It is an interior in bright greens and pinks. It led him directly to the centre of Klee's art.

It showed, firstly, the growth of a drawing into a picture; it showed his transference technique, tracing from outlines on a black oil interleaf. This is linked to the later acquisition of the original drawings. Klee used this technique a lot.

It also makes clear why such a sensitive and sharp-sighted art expert as Berggruen could not evade the fascination of this picture.

The witty play with appearances is disarming; it makes the observer into a viewer and accomplice to a miracle of action in the picture.

In *Perspectiv-Spuk* the perspective is drawn out to excess, hopeless, spun out from alignment, a perspective which at the same time draws into the interior a flat, small figure lying down.

Klee's water-colours are a fantastic world theatre in miniature, in which everything is possible by means of an absurd fairy-tale logic. The goblin-like match-stick men and mythical creatures (*Wunderbare Landung oder 112, Hoffmanneske Geschichte* or *Der Pierrot Verfolgungswahn*) must have undergone tragi-comic adventures.

With his ambiguous mythology and his comic picture inventions, he corrected and completed Creation, as if it had not been carried through to its end, as if exquisitely eccentric Creation had been ignored.

He leads us into the magical garden and countryside not with the visible "reproduced" but "made visible," in which the laws of nature are stood on their head, colours are exchanged and the world is bewitched by the effects of negatives and the meaning of forms; the sky can become deserts with the sun shining through, sand can become water, lines of musical notes and ornamentations can become dangerous cobwebs.

Nevertheless the real psychological, frequently human biographic background, immediately comprehensible, always shimmers through.

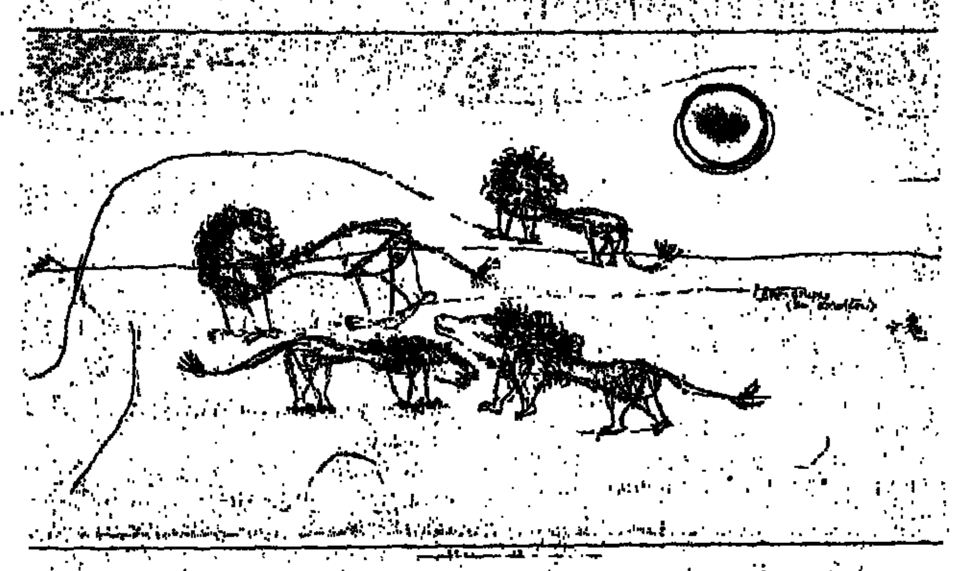
Klee was never a completely abstract painter, indeed "not comprehensible in this world," but constantly "always nearer to creation than usual."

In 1915 he rid himself of painting with objects in the foreground and proceeded under French influence (mainly Delaunay" to picture materials reduced to geometric forms.

The exhibition is arranged chronologically. In this way the viewer may follow Klee's artistic development through all its stages.

It begins with the early black-and-white studies, a minutely naturalistic view of houses in Bern (he was born near the Swiss capital), done when Klee was 13.

There then follows the water-colours from his legendary trip to Tunis in 1914, which made Klee into a painter. Then the fertile, diverse, experimental productions of the Bauhaus years (1920 to 1926) and the Düsseldorf Akademie period (1930) through constructive, streaky and "pointillisme" excursions to the bulky-succinct works, influenced by



It's hard not to take notice. *Löwengruppe (zu beachten!)*, Group of Lions (Take notice!), Paul Klee, 1924. (Photo: Catalogue)

seriousness and melancholy after 1933. His monumental later works, preceeding his post-war pictures, clearly show signs of the intense emotional pressure he was under after the loss of his teaching post in Düsseldorf and his compulsory return to Switzerland, as well as the fatal illness which eventually brought about his death in 1940.

Critics of all schools and epochs pale before Klee's cheerful magic and musicality: the picture speaks directly to the viewer, an effect which is recognisable in all important collections created by an individual's passion for Klee.

The viewer to the exhibition is intoxicated, along with Berggruen, with Klee's colorism, at the miracle of colour of the exotic, blooming "Oriental pleasance," and the brilliant, varnish technique developed with two colours (*Kalte Stadt*).

It is a delight to lose one's way in his unreal colour hazes, which alienate and illuminate our sad reality.

There is nothing, however, on Klee's cryptic irony, which took on sarcastically bitter, even eerie features (*Betroffene Stadt* and *Engel-Anwärter*).

Only the deadly serious titles make one aware of the ironic tilt of the picture and reality.

The *Analyse verschiedener Perversitäten* unmasks the alleged pathological as happy, pink-green picture eroticism, and despite everything he produces in *Tanz des trauernden Kindes* an indestructible, ecstatic serenity.

Klee's irony tames not only sorrow and wrathful lions; his irony is reconciled with aeroplanes and other catastrophes, and transforms the labyrinthe of human existence into a flourishing garden.

The beautiful catalogue presents a great deal of biographical material about Klee's personality, hovering between the pedantic and the fantastic, obtained from detailed discussions with the artist's son, Felix.

Seeing this unique Klee exhibition in Tübingen arouses the curiosity about the rest of Berggruen's collection, particularly his Picasso collection, which would be very welcome in Tübingen. Picasso, no sycophant, was a great admirer of Klee.

Wolfgang Rainer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 January 1989)

Abstract mystic or artist uncommitted?

Willi Baumeister has been called the "abstract mystic," others see his painting more objectively. They talk of pictures which are counter to the natural. The artist commits himself least of all.

He leaves it to the observer to read what he will into his landscapes, objects or figures in his pictures. He was completely absorbed by his own fantasies, and sought to bring them in colour and form to his canvases.

He was the creator of his own independent painting, which on the one hand scorned the visible, but which devoted more room to the invisible, which flowed from the artist.

"Tranquillity and glorious colour were the characteristics of his painting; Not then well-known so much as the unknown should tempt the viewer, surprisingly, as it surprised him.

In his book, *Unbekannten in der Kunst*, published by Dumont Verlag in 1947, he wrote decisively about his painting methods.

Willi Baumeister was born on 22 January 1889 in Stuttgart. After schooling he served an apprenticeship as an interior decorator and studied for a winter semester at the Stuttgart Academy of Art, where he was eventually a full-time student.

He got to know Oskar Schlemmer there and they became friends. Both were students of Adolf Hölzel.

Even then Baumeister delved into the painting styles of Toulouse-Lautrec, Gauguin, Seurat and Cézanne, contrary to academic training. He sought and found his own way in form and colour.

He had his first exhibition in Stuttgart in 1910, then in Zürich in 1912. He was drafted into the army in 1914. After the war his work showed the way for a whole generation.



Tranquillity and colour . . . Baumeister at work. (Photo: dpa)

Writing about painting after the First World War Baumeister wrote: "The end of the war was an important moment in time for my generation. Four years of abstemiousness without any artistic production had a storing effect, which was let free at the end of the war.

"After groping attempts I turned away from the absolute needs of oil colours and painting illusion, like my friend Oskar Schlemmer. We did not follow the broad outline of impressionism and expressionism, but preferred the precision of the beautiful accidents made by the hand.

"I began by simply painting areas of canvas, in which some were in colour, others appeared as a kind of relief. The human figure was more often than not included. The result was architectural painting, the 'wall pictures.'

"Machine pictures were given poetry by straight lines and precise area. Through this work I acquired a feeling for surfaces and perspectives in painting.

"In the following years I concerned myself with surface areas in various ways and tried to gain new forms of expression from them. Apart from this the classic, balanced composition is no longer so important to me at the moment as constructivism. Using 'elementary means' to achieve an 'elementary,'

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THE ENVIRONMENT

Fears that hunt for deep-sea minerals will destroy delicate ecosystems

There are vast quantities of minerals in the depths of the oceans. Potato-shaped nodules under the sea contain more manganese, nickel, cobalt and copper than all known land deposits.

As long ago as 1873, the British research vessel, *Challenger*, discovered "polymetallic concretions" at the bottom of the Atlantic and hauled them on board.

These manganese nodules were later found in the depths of all the seven seas.

Researchers first realised the true significance of these deap-sea deposits during the 1950s. The result has been a kind of modern-day gold rush.

Two German research ships, *Valdivia* and *Sonne*, have been searching the seas for these nodules since the beginning of the 1970s.

The best-known fields are in the North Pacific, south-East of the Hawaiian islands. The first major mining project is planned for this region.

At about 5,000 metres below sea-level concretions of 2 billion tons of manganese, 94 million tons of nickel, 87 million tons of copper and 34 million tons of cobalt are deposited over an area of 13 million square kilometres.

The Soviet Union, Japan, France and India have already appled to the international sea-bed mining authority for permission to mine the area.

But the general euphoria is tempered

Süddeutsche Zeitung

by the fundamental worries of environmentalists.

According to geologist Jürgen Schneider, of Göttingen, the decisive *reservation is that sensitive eco-systems*, whose significance for the global cycle of marine substances is still by and large unknown, could be destroyed.

The vast areas of the open seas are characterised by a considerable stability of living conditions.

Whereas the deap sea was still viewed as a gloomy and lifeless desert back in the last decade it is now known to contain a wide variety of living organisms which have adjusted to extreme environmental conditions.

Metabolic processes and production rates are extremely slow in this eco-system.

The slightest disturbances can have disastrous effects on the relatively inflexible community.

Deap-sea mining can lead to lasting disruptions outside the immediate mining areas.

In the scientific journal, *Naturwissenschaften*, Jürgen Schneider claims that the entire mining process — including processing at sea, smelting on land and the associated waste disposal problems — could threaten the environmental balance.

It is difficult to quantify the adverse effects of the fine material churned up during mining and hauled on board with the nodules (and then discharged back into the sea).

The accompanying sedimentation of water has a fundamentally detrimental effect on growth and on the variety of species living in the sea, since the extremely fine-grained turbid clouds block up the gills and filtering organs of the living creatures.

The sludge whirled up in this way can also harm organisms far away from the mining area, which are not used to low rates of sedimentation.

Although modern techniques may be able to minimise the amount of sludge swirled up not all nations digging up the deap-sea bed are likely to use the most expensive equipment.

There is a particular abundance of living organisms in the surface water.

Pipelining the fine sludge and abraded nodule particles back into the sea at levels of about 300 metres involves particular risks.

Biologist H. Thiel from the University of Hamburg feels that this depth is absolutely unacceptable in view of the daily vertical plankton movements at depths of up to 600 metres.

A drifting of this material into areas not directly churned up by mining activities could also lead to an additional risk for more active biological zones.

In Schneider's opinion the main problem will probably be caused by the smelting of the marine ores on land.

The process of leaching with sulphuric acid leaves roughly 68 per cent of the nodule material as waste — in solid form or in waste water.

This adds up to a figure of several million tons per smelting plant per annum.

The envisaged discharge into the sea is extremely problematic, since the continous pollution in this way of the shelf seas may lead to the "North Sea effect".

If the balanced biological and inorganic cycle is disturbed to such an extent in one place there is a danger that the entire system will collapse.

The American environmental agency NOAA also warns that nodule particles with heavy-metal content could find their way into the food chain.

The oceans are wide and a considerable dilution of the pollutants can be expected.

Yet even the slight increase in the concentrations of poisonous substances is likely to damage the organisms living there.

As the marine environment changes at an extremely slow pace these processes are neither ascertainable nor controllable.

Once they have been set in motion such changes are irreversible.

The problems associated with the ecological compatibility of manganese nodule mining have been *realised* in the meantime in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Eco-biological investigations of deep-sea life forms, for example, are part of the programme of the research ship *Sonne* as well as research on how the mined areas can be re-populated.

One can only hope that researchers take advantage of the fact that raw materials prices are currently so low that the enormous investments in deap-sea mining are still not profitable.

Before mining begins on a large scale more information should be gathered on deap-sea ecology so as to enable a proper assessment of the risks accompanying human intervention.

Karl-Wolfram Schaefer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 26 January 1989)

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direct expression' is the most important thing for me.

"The basic of painting is the surface area, further elements are the line and the coloured area. Then comes the painted illusion, to produce depth or the corporeal."

In his book Willi Baumeister wrote in 1943: "Despite all experiments and research, despite searches of all kinds, all really important values are to be found in an uncontrollable way through accidents or by detours.

"There may be certain manipulations, experiments, programmes, planes and even constructions at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of effort, but what is decisive is that arbitarily and inexplicably a path is taken, which leads to discovery."

In 1921 French writers on art and artists took notice of Baumeister. They wrote about his pictures and invited him to exhibit. Friendships were established with, among others, Le Corbusier, Ozenfant, Léger, Mondrïan, Arp and Kandinsky.

Willi Baumeister was appointed a professor in Frankfurt in 1928, and was sacked in 1933 by the Nazis.

His pictures were placed on the index. He was forbidden to paint.

Seven Baumeister pictures were included in the "Degenerate Art" exhibition. His pictures were taken away from German museums, many were destroyed.

At this time Willi Baumeister researched into painting techniques in prehistoric times, in antiquity and in the modern era.

He cleared up the question of the materials used in cave paintings and their preservation, and solved the puzzle of why the wall paintings at Pompeii shone.

After the total destruction of his Stuttgart studio he found a home at Urach, south of Stuttgart. There he illustrated the epic of Gilgamesh, the Biblical texts on "Saul" and "Esther" as well as Shakepear's *The Tempest*.

The "Metaphysischen Landschaften," "Figurenmauern," "Wachstums- und Windbilder," the "Sandreliefs" as well as the series of "Montaru," "Aru" and "Han-i" pictures and the powerfully coloured "Bluxao" were produced during the last ten years of his creative life.

Willi Baumeister died on 31 August 1955. In his works he displayed his creative fantasy and creative powers. Today he is a classical painter. He is one of the group of German artists of the 20th century who have achieved international recognition.

For the 100th anniversary of his birth the Nationalgalerie in Berlin is to put on an exhibition of his oils in April and the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart an exhibition of Willi Baumeister drawings, gouaches and collages.

Will Jacobs

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 21 January 1989)

MEDICINE

New hope for the stone deaf, but costs rule out mass treatment

Medical science has it within its grasp to help stone deaf people to hear. An operation is needed in which a sophisticated electronic hearing aid is implanted. But the cost of the operation and the after care is high and mass treatment remains a remote idea. Heinz Günther reports for *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt.*

There are millions of totally deaf people in the world. In Germany there are about 300,000.

Some now have a chance, in many cases only theoretically, of gaining access to the world of sound.

There are two big ifs: if the health insurance companies are willing to bear the tremendous costs of roughly DM30,000 per patient for the equipment, the operation, check-ups and after-care.

And if enough ear, nose and throat clinics have the apparatus and professional staff to insert the cochlea implant, a sophisticated electronic hearing-aid.

In the German-speaking world there are five institutions able to perform the operation: the Medical College in Hanover, the University of Vienna, the Sankt-Marien hospital in Düren, the university clinic in Kiel, and — as a centre in southern Germany — the Head Clinic of the University of Heidelberg.

The cochlea implant dates back to research by the Australian researcher G. M. Clark at the University of Melbourne, who designed a prototype of the hearing-aid in 1978.

Today, over 1,000 patients have had the tiny device implanted in their heads.

Over 100 of these operations were carried out by doctors at the Medical College in Hanover.

The implant is named after the part of the inner ear shaped like a snail's shell.

It is this section of the ear which converts sound vibrations into nerve impulses.

The mechanical vibrations which pass through the external and middle ear are turned into electric impulses.

One reason for deafness may be the fact that this sensitive converter mechanism has broken down.

Whereas most experts believed for many years that only patients which still have some sensation of hearing can be helped by technical aids Professor Clark's implant only requires the existence and reactivatability of the auditory nerve.

Scientists worked on the new hearing device, which primarily consists of 22 platinum electrodes, for 10 years.

These electrodes stimulate the auditory nerve electrically at the tip of the cochlea — each electrode with a different frequency. The whole device weighs less than one gram. *If, for medical* reasons, the inner ear has to be left alone there is also a similar hedgehog-shaped implant for the middle ear.

The "hedgehog" is an extremely lightweight plastic plate, on which electrodes are arranged in spike form. This device is just as efficient as the artificial cochlea.

Before a deaf person can hear again, however, more modern technology is required. First of all, there's the vocoder which patients have to hang round their necks or carry on their belts.

This device — which looks like a miniature transistor radio and weighs 400 grams — picks up the sound signals with its microphone and filters out information as well as interference which is insignificant for language communication.

The vocoder then transmits the encoded sounds via cable to a mini-transmitter alongside the patient's ear.

An antenna implanted beneath the skin close to the ear picks up the signals, decodes them and passes them on the the "hedgehog" in the middle ear or to the cochlea implant. Only an experienced team of doctors is able to perform the operation.

In Heidelberg the head of the ear, nose and throat clinic, Professor Hagen Weidauer, has senior physician, Thomas Lenarz, *who decides which* candidates are chosen for the operation, and the physicist Sebastian Hoth, who adjust the cochlea device and sets the frequencies, as members of his team.

In addition, Professor Günter Wirth and Barbara Strate train patients to speak and hear after the operation. The criteria for selection for the operation are strict.

The doctors generally prefer to take persons who suffer from postlingual deafness, which means that they already learnt to speak before they became deaf, rather than prelingual patients.

They begin by testing whether the auditory nerve responds to electrical impulses and then choose between the implants for the middle and inner ear.

"It is extremely important that the patient agrees to the subsequent training phase and is able to stay the course," Professor Weidauer emphasized.

He added that patients must have a certain mental capacity and a strong will to extend the acoustic signals they hear, something which finally depends on the ability of the central nervous system.

The more patience and training zeal shown by patients, the sooner they will be able to understand not only words but even sentences.

Even the most sophisticated cochlea implant, however, cannot restore full hearing ability.

Weidauer expects further developments to lead to an extension of the electrodes, making even greater differentiations in the cochlea possible.

At some stage in the future a person with such a device will almost be able to hear as much as someone with normal hearing power.

A reduction in the size of the electrodes, enabling a deeper insertion in the tip of the cochlea, will also improve efficiency.

The tremendous costs of the operation and subsequent training are also likely to fall in the wake of technical improvements.

At the moment neither doctors nor patients are primarily concerned about money. Priority is given to hopes of being able to hear again.

As Professor Weidauer explained: "You've got to have experienced it yourself how people burst into tears of joy when they experience the marvellous world of sound for the first time."

Heinz Günther

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 27 January 1989)

No peace where there's a vibrating palate

Fifty per cent of all men snore. From Tokyo to New York, from Melbourne to Vladivostok, soft palates *vibrate at night throughout the world.*

Medical researchers have measured noise levels of up to 90 decibels, about as noisy as a truck.

Snorers rob their fellow sleepers of their hard-earned night's rest. The snorers themselves, however, are envied by others for their apparently undisturbed and sound sleep.

Wrongly so, say researchers. The appearance of a good night's sleep is deceptive. Experts interpret the night-time snorting as a sign of health problems which can become so bad they they make the poor snorer unfit for work.

According to the latest findings, being overweight is one of the main reasons for the nocturnal cacophony.

Particularly "high-risk" snorers are those who stop breathing for short periods of time. This "breather" generally ends with a very loud snorting sound.

Jürgen Fischer, head of the clinic of the Westphalia Social Insurance Office on the island of Nordeney (Frisian islands), feels that this can be dangerous.

It is estimated that that up to ten per cent of all men suffer from the "apnoea syndrome."

This is marked by between 300 and 500 respiratory standstills every night, some of which can last up to two minutes.

These standstills rob the snorer of everything which is restful about sleep. Experts refer to a "ruined architecture of sleep."

Most of the respiratory breaks during the night are accompanied by considerable heart and circulatory disturbances.

A permanent feeling of not having slept properly, tiredness and weakness are some of the after-effects during the day.

This leads to a desire to want to lie down for an occasional snooze.

According to international studies snorers repreent a risk to their social environment.

They cause three times as many car accidents as non-snorers. The same applies to the frequency of industrial accidents at work.

The apparent reason for snoring is excessive muscular relaxation in the mouth and throat.

The muscles of the tongue and pharyngeal regions can become so weak that respiratory tracts become blocked. The result is a respiratory standstill or fluctuations of pressure in the chest.

Fluctuating pressure puts a strain on the heart and the body's circulation.

Researchers believe that only a waking mechanism in the brain ensures that the life-saving respiratory activitiy is resumed — until the next standstill.

Alcohol and tranquillisers foster the *interruption of respiration during sleep.*

The "Workgroup on Nocturnal Respiratory and Circulatory Regulation Disturbances" at the German Society for Pneumology (specialising in research of lung diseases) and Tuberculosis is just one of the groups investigating reasons for this problems and ways of curing it.

Together with other conferees at an international congress on sleep and health risks in March in Marburg they will be discussing the latest developments in this field.

In the Nordeney clinic two methods are being tested. In the case of snorers whose snoring problems are not extremely serious at attempt is first made to tackle the underyling reasons.

This includes changing eating habits, physical exercise and a reduction of everyday stress.

The pneumologists feel that snorers with more serious breathing problems at night can only be cured with the help of a breathing mask.

Air pressure keeps the respiratory tracts open. Patients already feel a lot better after just one night with the breathing mask.

For some patients the mask could become a permanent aid to make sure they feel refreshed the next morning.

According to researchers women and Red Indians are generally among the non-snorers.

In the case of women at a child-bearing age the influence of hormones usually ensures regular breathing, says Jürgen Fischer.

A scientific observer reported in the middle of the last century that the Red Indians are taught to breathe through the nose from an early age and therefore tend to snore a lot less frequently.

Manfred Protze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 January 1989)

Continued from page 10

the dream wife from *Casablanca* and *Gone with the Wind*, at last knows that she must refind the person she prefers, the good Albert. Happy End. Life's like that.

It is a woman's book; a man's film. It is very nice in the parts where there is lots of chat, with examples of ineradicable prejudice.

Xaver Schwarzenberger himself has dressed up this jabbering about love and suffering, about Hegel and hypocrisy, totally somehow.

This prattle should expose the ridiculousness of the big-mouth. It deadens the nerves.

The characters, the surroundings and the views are also overdrawn. The setting pretends to be the student milieu, but it looks like sterile yuppiedom.

The naughty couch is covered with shining red satin, and Constanze is designer-chic. These women are groomed for lovers. They have nothing in their heads and wear deadpan make-up.

Eva Heller's book is really amusing, an expedition into the totally normal madness of relationships. It is a contemporary tale, which makes fun of the spirit of the times.

Schwarzenberg, however, has turned it into a tale of yesterday, when men, unchecked, wanting only one thing, could swop jokes about dumb dames in the pub.

From the post-feminine point of view the film is foolish. Radical feminists will find it annoying.

It is a shame that there were no women available to write the script and direct the film. There is Doris Dörrie. She and Heller would have made a comedy out of it, something about impossible women.

Kerstin Möller

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 13 January 1989)

■ STUDENT UNREST

Back on to the streets, but it just isn't the same as the 1968 movement

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Spectacular demonstrations and nation-wide "strikes" at universities such as Hamburg, Munich and Berlin, have brought a tiresome, perennial topic to public attention: students in Germany.

Students have fought to catch the media's attention with highly imaginative and sometimes comic actions (in Freising, near Munich, they bought up all the bread rolls and milk one Saturday morning early before citizens were about) because they hope to bring pressure to bear on the government.

But there is plenty of competition from other events attracting media attention: the German involvement in poisonous gas in Libya and the arms trade, the Polish situation and another earthquake.

Even the keenest student activist and observer, who was already speaking of a "new student movement," referring to the 1968 protests, cannot get away from the bitter fact that this university crisis has shaken no-one, least of all politicians, from whom, once more, speedy remedies are being demanded for all ills. Their reaction has been disgruntled.

On the question of overcrowding. There we have miscalculated, but the lower birth rate will bring relief from 1995 onwards. And the worst bottlenecks will be relieved by the DM2 billion "Overcrowding Programme."

On the question of living accommodation. This is bad but we can do nothing about it. Families must help in some way. For those in real need there are student hostels.

On too few academics to teach, too few places in libraries and laboratories. The activities of scientists are guilty here. Why were not study courses shortened, and subjects pruned down? Why were those who were not suited for a particular course of study not promptly told that it would be better if they went home?

Most politicians do not speak their minds quite so freely, but those are their views nevertheless.

They are not the only ones who for a long time now have not regarded the universities as the source of power and renewal in society, but rather as a muddled problem, which must be dealt with administratively in some way.

For a long time there has been something like an unspoken agreement between helpless politicians concerned with education and calmly submissive professors about the overcrowded education system.

The politicians have concentrated on shunting into the academic world those, and there are many, who have no chance of making a career elsewhere (under the slogan that general education is a priceless possession), and the professors seek for just enough money so that the system does not fall apart.

So far this has worked out. So it should not shock government if the West German Rectors Conference warns of a "radicalisation of the student movement which has been completely peaceful until now."

Established politicians with their feel for political nuances have recognised that they are not dealing with a student movement similar to the events of 1968.

Former state secretary at the Justice Ministry, Professor Horst Ehmke of the SPD, enthusiastically greeted the student protest of 1968, saying that this was the generation that was needed. It challenged the whole late-1960s establishment, politically and morally.

He said that student leader Rudi Dutschke and his friends believed they were prevented from entering the Garden of Eden only by a few rusty systems and ossified individuals. And they began to quake in their shoes.

At the same time, however, the students of 1968 had sympathisers in the establishment, who wanted a long-overdue change in society.

A "march through the institutions of society" was then a meaningful slogan.

They lived in an affluent society and more people were needed to execute social-liberal reforms. This generation was needed indeed.

Everything is very different 20 years later. A young, university-educated woman said: "We are from the overcrowded generation."

She and her fellow graduates have never had the feeling, at school or university, that they were welcome. The general experience had been competing with each other instead of learning and studying together.

The result is a generation which struggles through pragmatically, a generation which consciously renounced big ideas.

They do not look for a meaning to life and fulfilment through social change, but rather in small, clear living and working circles outside the norms of society if need be.

General involvement in peace and ecological movements is partly subject to the trendiness of a society dominated by the media, partly it is made a private matter in small groups.

The individual in his "march through his generation" and on the way to some happiness may pose questions dealing with the world around him and of a personal nature, but he does not pose the question of power.

That disturbs the comfortable feeling of people in responsibility, but it does not rob them of their sleep.

That could only happen if everyone involved formed a movement concerned about education policies:

- Of politicians who, like Research and Technology Minister Heinz Riesenhuber, rightly have their eyes focused on 1992, and note that German scientists take four or five years longer to be trained than their French or British colleagues;
- Of professors, who are no longer prepared to be accomplices in a questionable, academic guardianship programme;
- Of students, who are looking beyond the present difficulties, who are demanding inter-discipline research and teaching, and the abolition of the separation of the arts and sciences.
- Of parents, particularly parents in the middle classes, who have so many demands made of them and who are reduced to the rule of thumb: "Do the abitur (university entrance) first, then study anything. It will pay off in the end." They pay for this and have to pay out for their superannuated student sons and daughters as pensioners or in their retirement.
- Of those educationalists who have for years called for extensive reform of the gymnasium. They would like to see learning of pure knowledge replaced by a system in which teaching in theory and practice, knowledge and application were linked to one another again.

There are only two ways which can give any assistance to the present difficulties in our universities: the realisation that what is essential is not "DM2 bilion over seven years but DM7 billion for two," according to sociologist Peter Atteslander from Augsburg.

Then the more recent demands of the West German Rectors Conference should be taken seriously; that the emergency programme which has been approved should be regarded as just a "stimulus" for university policy which regards education as an investment in the future.

For, those who want to maintain our highly-industrialised society as viable must give appropriate attention to the education of young people.

Günter Geschke

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 27 January 1989)

More cash and more space demanded

Thousands of Munich University students recently demonstrated about "catastrophic student conditions" and for a greater say in the running of the university for the student body.

Police estimated that about 30,000 students took part in the three processions which marched through the city centre and converged for a demonstration at the Marienplatz. Traffic in Munich was for a time brought to a complete standstill.

The students, who had already been involved in a "strike," demanded more money for the teaching staff and for extensions to the university buildings, and more equipment.

Speakers at the demonstration pointed out that Munich University, the largest in the Federal Republic with currently 64,000 students, was two and a half times too large for its facilities.

Despite zero temperatures 1,200 students from the Technical University, supported by their professors, transferred ten "alternative lectures" to the shopping precinct in the city centre.

More than 12,000 students from Baden-Württemberg demonstrated in Stuttgart against the disgrace of the universities.

In Stuttgart's Marktplatz speakers criticised sharply the state's and Bonn's university policies.

The student organisers of the protest called for support from all nine of the state's universities, the state's teacher training colleges, colleges in general and representatives of pupils' lobbies in the state.

The students said in their criticisms that university policies had led to a catastrophic over-burdening of all academic disciplines.

They said that the personnel emergency and the inadequate financing of universities had pushed teaching more and more into the background.

The students demanded more rooms for teaching, more lecturers and better equipment as well as cheaper and reasonable living accommodation for themselves.

Grants should again be paid to students as advances and the minimum grant increased to DM1,000 per month.

On the political front the demonstrators demanded the reintroduction of a student union with statutes and financial independence, political and imperative mandates (representation as directed by electors and not according to conscience) and a democratic say in the running of the university by students.

Students at Kiel University protested against the limited lecture hall space available to them and their financial distress in an unusual manner.

They climbed up the rigging of the training vessel "Gorch Fock" and unfolded a number of banners which were very visible to various state ministries in buildings along the Kiel Fjord.

Some weeks ago about 40 students booked to inspect the Bundeswehr's training vessel, whose home port is Kiel.

They passed the guard under this pretext. No sooner were they on board than six climbed seven metres up two masts and unfurled two banners, one which read "SOS — Education in distress" and another, "More and More and More Gorch Focks for the universities."

This meant ten-deutschemark notes on which there is a picture of the Gorch Fock.

Many thousands of students demonstrated in Hamburg, including university president Peter Fischer-Appelt, "For the future of research, teaching and study."

According to the Students' Union about 10,000 people took part in the demonstration in Hamburg's city centre. The police spoke of 7,000 participants.

At a demonstration at the end of the march university president Fischer-Appelt said that politicians in Bonn and the states should discontinue making savings at the expense of young students. He said that plans which endangered the existence of universities should be shelved for all time.

The Association of West German Student Unions regard the "Overcrowding Programme," drawn up by Bonn and the states, as being inadequate.

A student representative said in Bonn that financial aid should be offered not at the rate of DM2 billion over seven years but at DM2 billion per year to relieve the urgent university problem.

The president of the West German Rectors Conference, Professor Seidel, said on North German Radio, that the funds that were proposed for the universities "were too little," but hopefully they were the beginning of a new universities policy.

Professor Seidel singled out Education Minister Jürgen Möllemann (FDP) for praise who, he said, had contributed considerably to enabling education policies to make headway against finance policy considerations.

The Bundestag's education committee heard the views of many associations and university institutions at a hearing in the Bundestag. All agreed that economy measures affecting universities should be halted.

What was also brought out was that the details over the immediate relief programme, agreed between Bonn and the states, were still in dispute.

Reuter/AP/dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 19 January 1989)

■ HORIZONS

With Lufthansa, the sky's the limit



Fire breaks out in the lavatory of a Boeing 737 as it is on a landing approach. The captain, Rudi Gerlof, calls: "Attention, attention, crew to landing stations!" The cabin begins to fill with smoke.

The order goes out: "Passengers evacuate!" Air stewardess Antje Rauner throws the door open. In a flash, the escape chute inflates with a deafening roar. The 23-year-old cries loudly: "Undo your belts! Shoes off! Leave everything behind! Get out!"

She stands at the escape hatch and urges the passengers: "Jump! Jump!" People are spat out of the machine with lightning rapidity. And assemble, laughing, at the foot of the aircraft.

But realism was there, even if it was a practice run by 20 trainee stewardesses and their instructor, Gerlof, at the Lufthansa school in Frankfurt.

The aircraft is a full-sized mock-up of a 737. There are models of every type of aircraft here. The practice is part of a seven-week training programme for stewards and stewardesses.

In case an aircraft has to ditch in the sea, a container full of water stands by. The man in charge of emergency drills, Ernst A. Limley, can recall only one case of a flight having to ditch, a Convair aircraft in the Caribbean. But, for that remote eventuality, it has to be practised.

Every time something happens to an aircraft, a report of the inquiry lands on his desk so he can change training to meet the demands of experience. Not only beginners are trained; crew members are given refresher courses twice a year.

You can see in the faces of the course participants that they must fight with themselves as they leap out of an upper-level door of a 747 eight metres above the ground on to the chute. Perhaps at this point, many have second thoughts about this as a career.

Up to 1,000 inquiries at any one time submerge Renate Greb and her staff in the personel department at the centre. About 15 per cent, or 6,000, make firm application every year. About half of these are assessed to see if they fit the demands of the job and those that do are put through tests, explains Frau Greb. Between 900 and 1,500 a year are given training contracts.

Michael Helbing is in charge of the personal department. He says that applicants do not have to have *Abitur* but a good level of education does help.

They should be between 20 and 28 and must be fluent in English — and be able to talk in colloquial English. "They learn aviation English once they are here," says Helbing. A basic knowledge of another foreign language increases the chances of being accepted.

Applicants must have a passport valid for all countries, but they do not have to be citizens of West Germany.

Frau Greb: "In our experience, Austrians do well." After Germans, Austrians comprise the biggest national group of applicants.

Then come the Dutch. There are applications from Peruvians, from Indians, Japanese, Moroccans, Canadians — people from almost everywhere in the world. Helbing says that "of course, coloured people have the same chance as others." Frau Greb wants more male applicants. Her ideal flight cabin crew is half of each sex. But men comprise only 20 per cent. They don't marry and leave the job so quickly, she says. The turnover of women up to the age of 30 is high for this reason.

About 500 cabin staff leave the job each year, although they are allowed to keep flying until the age of 55 provided they remain healthy. If medical objections are raised, they do have the chance of getting a ground job — sometimes on the training staff. They can volunteer for ground jobs whenever they want to.

Applicants must be in good health, must be at least 1.6 metres tall (about 5ft 3in) and not overweight. Underweight applicants cause concern as well, says Uwe Schollmeyer, head of the cabin crew training school.

Frau Greb says applicants need not be "beautiful" but a pleasant appearance helps.

A slogan is on the wall: "We are friendly and courteous." Frau Greb says the cabin crew should engender an atmosphere of safety and security among passengers. No one needs to be supermen or superwomen but performance allround should be better than average.

In practical training, it is clear that both male and female trainees enjoy their work. Their is nothing artificial about their friendliness.

Trainees sit a psychology test and later must sit a professional examination. Claudia Degel, 21, admits: "It was difficult." The psychology had been the toughest. What should she have answered to the question: with the same pay, would you rather be a forest worker or an insurance saleman?



Getting the low-down on flying high . . . ground training in Boeing 737 mock-up.

(Photo: Lufthansa)

Now Claudia is in the first-class section of an Airbus 310 en route to Cairo. But they aren't in the air. This is a four-hour simulation flight for some of the 20-strong trainee squad, who must perform all the duties of a real flight.

Simulators exist for every aircraft that Lufthansa has. So that the cabin is full, the airline's employees play at being passengers. It is a popular role. The flight might not be real, but there was nothing simulated about the food.

Kerstin Suck knows the names of the passengers from the boarding passes so she can address them personally as she serves up their meals on fine porcelain plates.

The 24-year-old is able to talk with the "passengers" about the drinks and about the cheeses. She can answer all their questions. On the flight, the enthusiasm cannot be ignored.

Susanne Peters, 21, said the training course was "terrifically interesting." There was something new every day and that made learning interesting. She can hardly wait to get on to an aircraft for the real thing.

Every participant is allowed to fly — really — once in the first week of training. Susanne went to Lisbon. Consideration is being given to whether training might not be improved if trainees spent more time in the air — this would increase the course from seven weeks to three months.

Andrea Scholtyssek knew when she passed her *Abitur* (university entrance examination) that she wanted to be a stewardess with Lufthansa. But first to improve her English, she went to America and worked as an au pair in San Francisco. Then she worked in a French restaurant. The 23-year-old from Cologne says: "I enjoy spoiling people." That is why she is learning all about wines and nutrition.

Many trainee cabin crew have worked in hotels or restaurants. There are former nursing sisters and doctors assistants in their ranks. Frau Suck studied business administration before she went to work in a restaurant and then for another airline.

Frau Greb says it is good when applicants have spent some time in a foreign country as an au pair, or been trained in a service trade, worked in a travel bureau, in the catering industry or in health or medical sectors.

The flight to Cairo has landed. Dr Cornelia Börges-Fischer, who was in charge throughout, pronounces herself satisfied with her charges. "Almost all of them showed themselves to be friendly, motivated and eager." Organisation had also been top class, otherwise there would have been chaos in the tiny galley and confusion in the cabin.

Frau Suck admitted to forgetting little things occasionally. At the beginning of the exercise, she had been excited. But she had got over that. "Then it all becomes fun." Her training is now at an end. There is no examination. As a rule, Lufthansa takes them all on. Herr Schollmeyer says that only about one in 30 is rejected.

The newcomers fly short and medium haul for the first six months. That means all over Europe, between (for example) the Canary Islands and the Middle East. Then, after another bout of schooling, it's on to the long-haul flights.

Schollmeyer says each cabin crew member is trained for two aircraft. They spend between one and five days flying across the world before returning to Frankfurt.

On the question of private life, Frau Greb says: "They all have to make it clear that it does have its limits. Parties and birthdays have to fit in with flight plans. A crew spends about 70 hours a week in the air and then a lot more time in hotels. You cannot compare the leisure time with that of other careers."

But that doesn't put off would-be stewards and stewardesses. They say their family and friends are only too happy that they are able to follow the career of their choice.

Martin Tangl

(Mannheimer Morgen, 19 January 1989)

Continued from page 3

mus test of West German loyalty to the alliance.

As if we really need to demonstrate this following the loyal implementation of the missiles deployment decision at the beginning of the 1980s and the — superflous — extension of military service in the Bundeswehr.

It is true, of course, that hopes should not be mistaken for realities. It is just as important, however, not to mistake the fears of yesterday for the reality of today.

Gorbachov's disarmament policy — most recently reflected in his presentation of figures worth discussing on the force levels in East and West — deserves a clear, honest and differentiated reply.

The West can stick to its expectations and go on making demands: that Gorbachov puts all his announcements into practice by 1991; that the negotiations on conventional disarmament beginning in Vienna show Moscow's true intentions; that dropping the Lance modernisation plans depends on the scrapping of all East bloc short-range missiles.

To just march on through, however, as the conservative union apparently intends, would undoubtedly turn into an election fiasco in 1990.

Six years ago the majority of voters was against the deployment of new missiles, but a change in Bonn was more important.

Next time the dislike of another quantitative missile modernisation would coincide with the desire for a change of government.

The combination of the swing to the right at home, shamefacedness in the field of Ostpolitik and a desire for even more nuclear armament would then seal the fate of Chancellor Kohl's chancellorship.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 3 February 1989)